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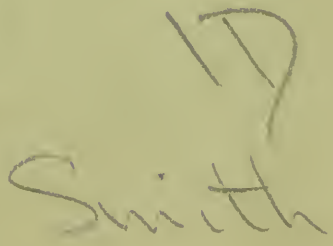
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Smith

ALL THE

REPUBLICAN

National Conventions

FROM

PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 17, 1856.

Proceedings, Platforms, and Candidates,

WITH

TABLES SHOWING CONVENTION, POPULAR, AND ELECTORAL VOTES.

COMPILED AND EDITED BY

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PREFACE.

The purpose of this work is to give in as brief and compact form as possible, the important or leading events of the ten National Conventions of the Republican party.

The publication in the Minneapolis *Tribune* of June 5, 1892, of a history of the nine preceding Republican National Conventions, and in the Chicago *Tribune* of June 14, 1892, of a history of the fifteen preceding Democratic National Conventions, prepared by the writer, which histories were subsequently put in pamphlet form and had an extensive circulation, justifies the belief that their republication in a separate and enlarged form would meet with greater favor.

In accordance with that belief, based, it may be said, on numerous requests from prominent members of both these parties, the writer has revised that publication, adding details and proceedings of an important character, especially relating to cases of contested seats, important rulings by such distinguished parliamentarians as Senator Hoar and the late Edward McPherson, and like matters, omitted in the hurried preparation of the articles named. Several corrections, typographical and otherwise, have been made, and a full and comprehensive index, individual and subject, prepared; special attention being given to the several platforms adopted by all the National Conventions of the Republican party, so as to bring out every subject or topic on which the party has declared its views. Great pains have been taken to verify these details, especially the platforms, by comparison with the official publications—in which, however, several errors were found—and it is confidently believed the substantial accuracy of this publication can be relied on. Some miscellaneous data, such as tables of convention, popular and electoral votes, officers of the various campaign committees, &c., has been added, and though it is not claimed that this little publication includes *all* of the interesting convention events, it is given to the public with the confident assertion that it contains most of the important or essential details and proceedings of the "Ten National Conventions of the Republican Party." This will be followed by a similar publication giving the convention history of the Democratic party.

HENRY H. SMITH.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May* 15, 1896.

INTRODUCTORY.

It has been well said that "all political parties that have exerted marked influence upon their times, have had their beginnings far back of the period of their organization," and in continuation of this thought the same writer (E. V. Smalley) says: "The Republican party was the child of the conscience of the North, aroused at length to assertion by the growth of the institution of slavery. In its embryonic forms it existed almost from the beginning of the Government. It did not gain strength and individuality, however, until more than half a century after the adoption of the federal constitution."

No history of the conventions of the Republican party would be complete without at least a brief reference to the conventions of the "National Republicans of 1831," the "Abolition party of 1839," the "Liberty party of 1843," the "Free-soil party of 1848"—its legitimate successor—both of which met in Buffalo, N. Y., and the "Free-soil Democracy" which met at Pittsburgh, Pa., August 11, 1852.

The "National Republicans" met in convention at Baltimore on December 12, 1831. All the Northern states save Illinois were represented, with Delaware, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia, having in all 157 delegates. It was a gathering of all the opposition to Jackson, though composed chiefly of the followers of Adams and Clay. It nominated Henry Clay of Kentucky for President, and John Sergeant of Pennsylvania for Vice-President, and in lieu of a platform issued an address severely criticising the administration for its corruption, partisanship, and abuse of power; its hostility to internal improvements; its treachery on the tariff question; its war on the national bank, and for its humiliating surrender to Georgia in the matter of the Cherokee Indians.

This was the *avant courier* of the present convention system of nominations and "platforms," and was imitated by the Democratic party in the succeeding campaign. Although Mr. Clay received but 49 electoral votes, viz: Massachusetts 14, Rhode Island 4, Connecticut 8, Delaware 3, Maryland 5, and Kentucky 15, he received a pop-

ular vote of 530,189 (including that cast for Mr. Wirt, anti-Mason, who carried Vermont), to 687,502 for President Jackson. The greater portion of this vote was merged in the Whig party organized in 1834, and in 1856 in the Republican party.

The "Abolition party" first met in convention at Warsaw, N. Y., November 13, 1839, and subsequently at Albany, April 1, 1840. It adopted a resolution at Warsaw, proposing the organization of a distinct and independent Abolition party, and nominated James G. Birney of New York for President, and Francis Lemoyne of Pennsylvania for Vice-President. Among its prominent members were Samuel Fessenden of Maine and the Rev. John Pierpont of Massachusetts.

Its candidates received 7,069 votes, cast in all the Northern states (thirteen) except Indiana.

The "Liberty party" met August 30, 1843, at Buffalo, N. Y., and was composed of 148 delegates from twelve states. Leicester King of Ohio was chosen as chairman, and after a spirited debate, a "portentiously long platform" was adopted, devoted principally to the slavery question, James G. Birney of New York was nominated for President, and Thomas Morris of Ohio for Vice-President. The results of this convention and organization were very remarkable—probably without a parallel in the history of parties in this country—and were as unexpected by its most sanguine friends and supporters, as by its enemies. From an examination of the table of returns of that election, it appears that although the same number of States voted as in the preceding election, yet under the new apportionment, by which the number of Representatives was reduced from 242 to 223, the number of electors was reduced to 275. Of this number Mr. Polk received 170, and Mr. Clay 105. Though Mr. Polk received a majority of sixty-five in the votes of electors, he had a majority of the popular vote of but 38,181 over Mr. Clay. Had the Liberal party—or "Abolitionists," as they were called—voted for Mr. Clay, he would have received the electoral votes of the states of Michigan (5) and New York (36), and would have been elected by 146 electoral votes, against 129 for Mr. Polk. In New York 237,588 votes were cast for James K. Polk (Democrat), 232,482 for Henry Clay (Whig), and 15,812 for Mr. Birney, while in Michigan Mr. Polk received 27,759, Mr. Clay 24,337, and Mr. Birney 3,632. The most important incident in the election was the celebrated

"Plaquemines Parish fraud," by which Mr. Clay was cheated out of the electoral vote of Louisiana. In the election of 1840, that parish cast 250 Democratic votes, in 1842 but 179, in 1843 but 310, while in 1844 it returned 1,007 Democratic votes—a gain of 697 over the highest previous vote, almost exactly the Democratic majority in the state.

Mr. Polk received 1,337,243, Mr. Clay 1,299,062, and Mr. Birney 62,300 popular votes, South Carolina electing by legislature.

The convention of the "Free-Soil party" met at Buffalo, August 9, 1848, and contained representatives from seventeen states with a membership of nearly 300 delegates. Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts was made its permanent president and Martin Van Buren of New York was nominated for President, receiving 159 votes to 129 for John P. Hale of New Hampshire, Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio receiving 23, and Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts 13 votes. Charles Francis Adams was then nominated for Vice-President by acclamation.

The convention adopted strong resolutions, in which it "planted itself upon the national platform of freedom, in opposition to the sectional platform of slavery." It demanded cheap postage, retrenchment of expenses and patronage of the federal government, the election of civil officers in the government service so far as practicable, advocated river and harbor improvements, free grant to actual settlers of the public domain, reduction of the public debt, a revenue tariff, and inscribed on their banner, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men."

The canvass was short and spirited. The early elections were favorable to the Whigs. Thirty states participated in the election Florida having been admitted March 3, 1845; Texas, December 29, 1845; Iowa, December 28, 1846, and Wisconsin, May 29, 1848. For the first time all the electors (save in Massachusetts) were appointed, under the act of 1845, on one day, and in all the states save Massachusetts and New Hampshire, a plurality vote was sufficient.

The popular and electoral votes were as follows: Popular—Zachary Taylor, 1,360,099; Lewis Cass, 1,220,544; Martin Van Buren, 291,263. Electoral—Taylor, 163; Cass, 127.

The "Free-Soil Democrats" held their convention at Pittsburgh on August 11, 1852. Henry Wilson of Massachusetts was chosen

president, and Frederick Douglass of New York, secretary. John P. Hale of New Hampshire was nominated for President, and George W. Julian of Indiana, for Vice-President, without serious contest.

Samuel Lewis, chairman of the national committee, in calling the convention to order, stated that the call was intended to include all friends of freedom under whatever name they were known. He alluded to the fact that Gerrit Smith, Fred. Douglass, and Lewis Tappen of New York; Dr. Lemoyne of Pennsylvania; Joshua R. Giddings and Rufus Spalding of Ohio; Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut and other distinguished men were present, with several delegates from the slave states.

After a short contest, a platform—substantially that of the Free-Soil party of 1848—was adopted, which somewhat dampened the ardor of the extreme "abolition element." As a result, the canvass lacked zeal and spirit, and, the autumn election being favorable to the Democrats, the result in November was a crushing defeat of the Whig party in both popular and electoral votes.

Thirty-one states voted in this election—California having been admitted September 9, 1850. The apportionment under the census of 1850 (act of May 23, 1850), changed the number of electoral votes in several states. The popular and electoral votes were cast follows:

Franklin Pierce (Democrat) carried the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina (by legislature), Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and California, receiving 254 electoral votes. Winfield Scott (Whig) carried the states of Vermont, Massachusetts, Tennessee and Kentucky, receiving 42 electoral votes.

Mr. Pierce received 1,601,274, General Scott 1,386,580, and Mr. Hale 155,825 popular votes.

The dissolution of the Whig party—which, after the campaign of 1852, was in a moribund condition—was seen by its leaders to be inevitable.

In that election it carried but four states—Vermont, Massachusetts, Tennessee and Kentucky (the two latter by slender majorities)—even with so gallant a soldier as Winfield Scott as its candidate. The "Ostend manifesto" (so called), being a dispatch from James Buchanan, John Y. Mason and Pierre Soule, our ministers to England, France and Spain, respectively, which recommended the immediate purchase of Cuba, and threatened Spain with its forcible seizure in the event of the refusal of Spain to sell it; the Dred

Scott decision and the assault on Senator Charles Sumner in the Senate chamber by Preston Brooks, a Representative from South Carolina, all contributed greatly towards increasing the alarm in the Northern states at the purposes and spirit of the slave power, and the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1854, had the effect of an immediate crystallization of all the anti-slavery elements, which included the anti-slavery Whigs, the Free-soilers and anti-Nebraska Democrats.

In the disintegration of the Whig party, which followed the election of 1852, many of its members in the New England and Middle states went into the "Order of United Americans," or Native American party, hoping to change the issue from slavery to "Native Americanism," and for a few years that party had extraordinary success in state elections and sent several Representatives to Congress. That organization was bitterly fought by Horace Greeley, who predicted at the time it was at the height of its power, that it would "run its career rapidly, and vanish as suddenly as it appeared. It *may* last through the next presidential canvass, but hardly longer than that. * * * It would seem as devoid of the elements of existence and persistence as an anti-cholera or an anti-potato rot party would be."

Their national convention was held at Philadelphia on February 22, 1856, although a "National Council" of the party had met three days before and adopted a platform. The convention consisted of 227 delegates from 27 states—Maine, Vermont, Georgia, and South Carolina not being represented. A bitter feeling was developed by the action of the National Council in adopting a platform, and, after a long and acrimonious debate, a resolution declaring that the Council had no authority to prescribe a platform of principles for the convention, and that no candidates for President and Vice-President who were not in favor of interdicting slavery in the territory north of 36° 30′ by Congressional action should be nominated, was laid on the table by yeas 141 to nays 59. This vote was followed by the withdrawal of most of the delegates from New England and Ohio, and many from the states of Illinois, Iowa and Pennsylvania. Millard Fillmore of New York was then nominated for President, and Andrew Jackson Donelson of Tennessee, Vice-President.

The "seceding delegates" met and nominated John C. Fremont of California for President, and ex-Governor William F. Johnston of Pennsylvania for Vice-President.

Practically the Whig party went to pieces as the result of the

election of 1852. It was kept alive in localities—mainly in the South—its membership being divided between the Native American and Anti-Administration parties, and a convention of delegates from what was then called the "great Whig wreck," met in Baltimore on September 17 and endorsed the nominations of Fillmore and Donelson, but repudiated the Native American platform.

The necessity for the organization of a new party to resist the encroachments of slavery was felt throughout the North through the following year, and culminated after the Kansas-Nebraska bill was introduced in the House of Representatives on January 23, 1854. Meetings were held throughout the North and West to take measures for the organization of a new party, based on the single idea or principle of "non-extension of slavery into the territories." The leading spirits in these meetings were usually recognized anti-slavery leaders, but nothing came from them save scattering local victories in 1853.

Although it has been the subject of dispute, it is now generally conceded that the present Republican party had its birth "under the oaks" at Jackson, Mich., where a state convention was held on July 6, 1854, and that the title was first suggested by Horace Greeley in a letter to a delegate to that convention. The letter was shown to Senator Jacob M. Howard, Austin Blair (Michigan's "War Governor"), and others, and, the suggestion meeting with favor, was formally adopted in the resolutions of the convention, and shortly afterwards was adopted by conventions in the states of Maine, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa.

A strenuous effort was made by many of the old Whig local leaders—the late Senator Zachariah Chandler being very active in this respect—to keep the Whig party alive, and in Pennsylvania and the New England states, as well as in the entire South, a Whig ticket was put in the field. "The success of the Republicans in all the states," says Mr. Smalley, "where they ran straight tickets of their own, gave a great impetus to the further extension of the party." Its first national triumph was won in November, 1854, in securing control of the House of Representatives of the Thirty-fourth congress, which convened December 3, 1855, when, after an ineffectual struggle of two months to elect a Speaker, it was agreed that a "plurality vote" should elect, and on February 2, 1856, Nathaniel P. Banks, Jr., of Massachusetts, was chosen on the 133d ballot. The "Kansas troubles" (so called) took much of the time of this congress, the

House passing the army appropriation with a proviso forbidding the use of the army to enforce the acts of the pro-slavery Kansas legislature. The Senate rejected the proviso and the bill failed. President Pierce called an extra session immediately, and the army bill without the proviso, became a law, the House receding therefrom. During this congress, grants of public lands were made in various Southern and Western states to aid in the construction of new railroads, and the tariff act of 1857, which reduced duties on imports to a rate lower than those of any tariff since that of 1816, were the only measures of importance which became laws.

In 1855 the Republicans throughout the North strengthened their organizations and in many states were successful. The Whig party exhibited vitality in but four states; Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Ohio, while in the South it was completely merged in the Know-Nothing or American organization. The "Kansas troubles" (so called) which occupied most of the time of the Thirty-fourth Congress, steadily weakened the Whig, in the proportion that it strengthened the Republican party. The latter was, however, without a national organization, and a few of the leaders in the movement for its formation accordingly called a national convention for the purpose of effecting an organization.

The call for this convention was issued from Washington, D. C., on January 17, 1856, and is as follows, viz:

To the Republicans of the United States:

In accordance with what appears to be the general desire of the Republican party, and at the suggestion of a large portion of the Republican press, the undersigned, chairmen of the State Republican Committees of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Wisconsin, hereby invite the Republicans of the Union to meet in informal convention at Pittsburg, on the 22d of February, 1856, for the purpose of perfecting the National Organization and providing for a National Delegate Convention of the Republican party, at some subsequent day, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, to be supported at the election in November, 1856.

Signed Alfred P. Stone *of Ohio;* J. Z. Goodrich *of Mass.;* David Wilmot *of Penna.;* Lawrence L. Brainerd *of Vt.*, and William A. White *of Wis.* Other signatures were subsequently appended.

The convention was composed of Abolitionists, Anti-Administration Democrats, Free Soilers, Native Americans and Whigs, and came near breaking up without accomplishing any practical result. Through the efforts of Lewis Clephane of Washington, D. C., Francis P. Blair was elected a delegate from Maryland, and made president of the convention without objection, and his ability, tact and discretion prevented a complete fiasco. An executive committee was appointed which was authorized to call a convention for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President, which committee met in Washington on March 27, 1856. After the

most careful deliberation and consideration of various propositions as to the form of the call, and consultation with Republican leaders in Congress, the following brief but comprehensive call was issued, viz:

To the People of the United States:

The people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into the territories, in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free state, and of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, are invited by the National Committee, appointed by the Pittsburgh Convention of the 22d of February, 1856, to send from each state three delegates from every congressional district, and six delegates at large, to meet in Philadelphia on the seventeenth day of June next, for the purpose of recommending candidates to be supported for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States. (Signed) Edwin D. Morgan, New York: Francis P. Blair, Maryland; John M. Niles, Connecticut; David Wilmot, Pennsylvania; A. P. Stone, Ohio; William M. Chase, Rhode Island; John Z. Goodrich, Massachusetts; George Rye, Virginia; Abner R. Hallowell, Maine; E. S. Leland, Illinois; Charles Dickey, Michigan; George G. Fogg, New Hampshire; A. J. Stevens, Iowa; Cornelius Cole, California; Lawrence Brainerd, Vermont; William Grose, Indiana; Wyman Spooner, Wisconsin; C. M. K. Paulison, New Jersey; E. D. Williams, Delaware; John G. Fee, Kentucky; James Redpath, Missouri; Lewis Clephane, District of Columbia, National Committee.

FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION,

HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, PA., JUNE 17–19, 1856.

FREMONT and DAYTON.

The first Republican National Convention was altogether the most spontaneous and remarkable convention in American political history. The delegates were not chosen on any uniform rule or plan, and strict regard was not paid to the number of votes to which a state should be entitled, New York having 96, Ohio 69, and Pennsylvania 81, the total number of accredited delegates being 565.

All of the Northern states were represented, as were Delaware, Kentucky, and Maryland. The convention was called to order by Edwin D. Morgan, chairman of the Republican national executive committee, who reported the name of Robert Emmett of New York for temporary chairman, and a vice-president and secretary from each state. The organization was perfected by the selection of Henry S. Lane of Indiana as permanent president and the appointment of committees, after which the convention was turned into a "political love-feast," and gave itself up to speech-making, the speeches being of the most exuberant and enthusiastic character, a natural proceeding in view of the numerous accessions it was receiving from the Whig and American parties, and the extraordinary success it had recently achieved in the Northern states.

The only contested seats in this convention were from the first four districts in Pennsylvania. The report of the Committee on Credentials thereon was adopted unanimously.

The following resolutions, reported by Hon. Elbridge G. Spaulding from the Committee on Credentials and Rules, were adopted without division, viz:

Resolved, That in voting for a candidate for President, the states be called in their order, and that the chairman of each delegation present the number of votes given to each candidate for President by the delegates from his state, each state being limited in its votes to three times the number of electors to which such state is entitled: *Provided*, That no state shall give a larger vote than the number of delegates actually present in the Convention;

And provided, That Kansas shall be considered for this purpose as a state, with the same electoral votes as any other state entitled to only one representative in Congress.

Resolved, That the same rule shall apply to the nomination of Vice-President.

Resolved, That the rules of the House of Representatives be adopted, so far as they are applicable, in this Convention.

On an informal ballot for President, Col. John C. Fremont of California, received 359 votes; John McLean of Ohio, 196; Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, 2, and William H. Seward of New York, 1 vote. Col. Fremont was then unanimously nominated. An informal ballot was then taken for a candidate for Vice-President, on which William L. Dayton of New Jersey, received 259 votes; Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, 110; Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts, 46, twelve other candidates receiving scattering support. Mr. Dayton was then unanimously nominated.

The fact that Col. Fremont had declined the nomination of the seceders from the "Know-Nothing" convention, contributed in a large measure to bring about his nomination, while that of Mr. Dayton for Vice-President was expected to complete the disruption of the Whig party. The following platform, reported by David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, was adopted without debate, the final resolution only being amended by striking out the words "proscriptive" and "affecting," and inserting in lieu of the latter the word "impairing:"

This Convention of Delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; to the policy of the present administration; to the extension of slavery into free territory; in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free State; of restoring the action of the federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, and for the purpose of presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do resolve:

Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the federal constitution, are essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions, and that the federal constitution, the rights of the states, and the union of the states, must and shall be preserved.

Resolved, That with our Republican fathers, we hold it to be a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed with the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior designs of our federal government were to secure these rights to all persons under its exclusive jurisdiction; that as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all of our national territory, ordained that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in any Territory of the United States, by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress or of a Territorial legislature, of any individual, or association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States, while the present constitution shall be maintained.

Resolved, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power, it is both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery.

Resolved, That while the constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people, "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty," and contains ample provision for the protection of the life, liberty, and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; their territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial, and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been en-

acted and enforced; the rights of the people to keep and bear arms have been infringed; test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law; the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies, and arsons have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished. That all of these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present national administration, and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign the administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, either before or after the fact, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of this Union, with her present free constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

Resolved, That the highwayman's plea, that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend Circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people that gave it their sanction.

Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean by the most central and practicable route is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and, as an auxiliary thereto, to the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors, of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the constitution, and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of the men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the Constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all (proscriptive) legislation (affecting) *impairing* their security.

The National Committee chosen, met after the adjournment of the convention and elected Edwin D. Morgan of New York chairman, and Norman B. Judd of Illinois secretary.

The Democratic National Convention which met at Cincinnati, June 2–6, nominated James Buchanan of Pennsylvania for President and John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky for Vice-President. The Native American (Know-Nothing) national convention met at Philadelphia February 22–25, and nominated Millard Fillmore of New York for President and Andrew Jackson Donelson of Tennessee for Vice-President, and the Whig National Convention which met at Baltimore Sept. 17–18, ratified the nominations of Fillmore and Donelson, and adopted a "wishy-washy" platform as its final declaration of opinions.

The canvass following was remarkable in many respects. In the South the contest was between Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Fillmore, while in the North there was a lively campaign, somewhat on the "hard cider" order of 1840. The earlier elections were favorable to the Republicans, but the results in October were discouraging.

The Republicans carried Ohio, but lost Indiana, while Pennsylvania gave the Democratic candidates for State officers majorities over the combined Republican and Whig vote, due to the fact that the "Quakers did not come out."

Thirty-one states voted at this election, the popular and electoral votes being as follows, viz:

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1856.

States.	Popular.			Electoral.	
	Buchanan, Democrat.	Fremont, Republican.	Fillmore, Whig.	Buchanan.	Fremont.
Alabama	46,739		28,551	9	
Arkansas	21,910		10,787	4	
California	53,365	20,691	36,165	4	
Connecticut	34,995	42,715	2,615		6
Delaware	8,004	308	6,175	3	
Florida	6,358		4,833	4	
Georgia	56,578		42,228	10	
Illinois	105,348	96,189	37,444	11	
Indiana	118,670	94,375	22,386	13	
Iowa	36,170	43,954	9,180		4
Kentucky	74,662	314	67,416	12	
Louisiana	22,124		20,709	6	
Maine	39,089	67,379	3,325		8
Maryland	39,115	281	47,460		
Massachusetts	39,240	108,190	19,626		13
Michigan	52,136	71,762	1,660		6
Mississippi	35,446		24,195	7	
Missouri	58,164		48,524	9	
New Hampshire	32,789	38,345	422		5
New Jersey	46,913	28,338	25,115	7	
New York	195,878	266,007	124,604		35
North Carolina	48,246		36,886	10	
Ohio	170,874	187,497	28,126		23
Pennsylvania	230,710	147,510	82,175	27	
Rhode Island	6,680	11,467	1,675		4
*South Carolina				8	
Tennessee	73,638		66,178	12	
Texas	31,169		15,639	4	
Vermont	10,569	39,561	545		5
Virginia	89,706	291	60,310	15	
Wisconsin	52,843	66,090	579		5
Total	1,838,169	1,341,264	874,534	174	114

* By Legislature.

Mr. Fillmore received only the electoral vote (8) of Maryland. The Republicans at this time (34th Congress) had fifteen members in the Senate, and one hundred and eight in the House of Representatives, though some were classed under other titles, the Democrats having eighty-three and the Native Americans forty-three members, Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts, after a protracted contest, being elected Speaker by a plurality vote.

SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, MAY 16–18, 1860.

LINCOLN and HAMLIN.

The Second National Convention of the Republican party met under the most gratifying auspices, and, if possible, was more enthusiastic than its predecessor. The Republicans had carried every Northern state in which an election was held in 1859, with the exception of California; Oregon, where the opposition majority was but 59; New York, where the united vote of the Democrats and third party men was less than 2,000 more than the Republican vote, and Rhode Island, where they were defeated by a fusion of all the opposition elements.

All the free states were represented, delegates also being present from the states of Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Texas and Virginia, and from the Territories of Kansas, Nebraska and the District of Columbia. There was some suspicion as to the status of some of the Western, Southern and Territorial delegates—Horace Greeley being a delegate from Oregon, and Don C. Henderson of Allegan, Mich., formerly a writer on the *Tribune*, a delegate from Texas—but they were finally given seats with diminished voting strength.

The report of the Committee on Credentials was recommitted, and as again reported was adopted. It assigned delegates as follows: Maine 16; New Hampshire 10; Vermont 10; Massachusetts 26; Rhode Island 8; Connecticut 12; New York 70; New Jersey 14; Pennsylvania 54; Maryland 11; Delaware 6; Virginia 23; Kentucky 23; Ohio 46; Indiana 26; Missouri 18; Michigan 12; Illinois 22; Wisconsin 10; Iowa 8; California 8; Minnesota 8; Oregon 5, and Texas 6; (Territories) Kansas 6; Nebraska 6; District of Columbia 2. Total 466.

David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, was chosen temporary chairman, and George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, permanent president.

On the second day's session there was a long debate over the resolution reported from the Committee on Order of Business, which

presented the question whether a majority of the whole number of delegates, comprising all of the states of the Union fully represented in the electoral college (304 votes), or only a majority of the delegates voting, should be necessary to nominate. The first proposition —almost the equivalent of the Democratic two-thirds rule—was resisted strenuously by the friends of Mr. Seward, and was rejected by yeas, 331; nays, 130.

The rules of the House of Representatives were then adopted for the government of the convention until otherwise ordered.

On Thursday (second day) Thomas Corwin of Ohio, from the Committee on Order of Business and Rules, reported the following rules, viz:

Rule 1. Upon all subjects before the Convention, the States and Territories shall be called in the following order:

Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, Texas, Wisconsin, Iowa, California, Minnesota, Oregon, Kansas, Nebraska, District of Columbia.

Rule 2. Four votes shall be cast by the delegates at large of each State, and each Congressional District shall be entitled to two votes. The votes of each delegation shall be reported by its chairman.

Rule 3. The report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions shall be acted upon before the Convention proceeds to ballot for candidates for President and Vice-President.

Rule 4. Three hundred and four votes, being a majority of the whole number of votes when all the States of the Union are represented in this Convention, according to the rates of representation presented in Rule 2, shall be required to nominate the candidates of this Convention for the offices of President and Vice-President.

Rule 5. The rules of the House of Representatives shall continue to be the rules of this Convention in so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the foregoing rules.

The platform, as reported by Mr. William Jessup, of Pennsylvania, from the Committee on Resolutions, was amended, and as adopted, is as follows:

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

1. That the history of the nation during the last four years, has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and the federal constitution, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions; and that the federal constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States must and shall be preserved.

3. That to the union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy as denying the vital principles of a

free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the rights of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement, everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the federal courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the federal metropolis, show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendencies and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all of the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our Republican fathers, when they abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes, by their federal governors, of the acts of the legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of nonintervention and popular sovereignty embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should of right, be immediately admitted as a State under the constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges, which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture renumerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the Nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national

character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the constitution, and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid to its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

The second resolution as reported from the committee did not contain the extract from the Declaration of Independence. It was moved as a separate resolution by Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio, "that we solemnly reassert the self-evident truth that all men, &c.," but was defeated in that form, and then, on motion of George William Curtis of New York, was inserted in its present place.

It will be observed that this platform has a wider scope than that adopted at Philadelphia. At that convention the slavery question was uppermost in the minds of delegates and but three other subjects were embraced in the platform, viz: The acquisition of Cuba, a Pacific railroad, and river and harbor improvements. The elections in 1859 had made the Republican party National. All the free states were represented in the convention together with six slave states and the territories of Kansas, Nebraska and the District of Columbia. A spirited and stubborn contest arose in the Committee on Resolutions which threatened serious consequences. Horace Greeley was a member—representing Oregon—and he made a determined stand in favor of a strong protection plank and one equally strong against the further extension of slavery into the territories. In view of the fact that that platform may be said to have inaugurated the Republican party as a great national party, and laid down the lines which have since been followed very closely, and of the further fact that none of the histories or compilations of, or speeches or letters about the Chicago convention of 1860, furnish much information as to the contest over the platform adopted, the compiler has taken special pains to obtain as full data as possible of that memorable contest.

Hon. John A. Kasson of Iowa was the member from that state of the Committee on Resolutions, and is the sole surviving member of the sub-committee which prepared it. Learning from others the fact that the platform of 1860 was largely the work of Mr. Kasson, he was asked by the compiler to prepare a statement of the struggle over that platform, which he kindly consented to do and the same is herewith given, viz:

You are quite right in saying that the real foundation of the Republican party of the United States was laid in the National Convention of 1860, which nominated Abraham

Lincoln. The call for the Convention of 1856, at Philadelphia, was addressed to the "people of the United States," without assuming any party name. Its object was to bring together for united action all who were opposed to the pro-slavery policy of the Buchanan administration. Thus, that convention assembled, so to speak, anonymously. The committee calling the convention did not style themselves "Republican," but simply "National Committee." Individuals offering resolutions in that convention used the name "Republican," but the platform itself adopted no party name.

In 1860 the official call was for "A National Republican Convention." The platform of 1860 further recognized the name by declaring the convention to be representative of the "Republican Electors of the United States," and demanding the perpetuation of the "Republican Party."

In that convention the General Committee on Resolutions consisted of twenty-seven members. At their first meeting a flood of resolutions was poured in upon them upon every possible topic of political agitation. There was material in them for several days of debate, ending in utter confusion. It was evident that an indefinite time would be consumed in their discussion if action was to be taken upon them by the full committee. After considerable discussion I moved that all of them be referred to a sub-committee of five members, who should report a platform for the consideration of the General Committee at 9 o'clock the next morning, which motion was adopted.

Mr. William Jessup of Pennsylvania, Austin Blair of Michigan (subsequently its "War Governor"), Mr. F. P. Tracey of California, Horace Greeley representing Oregon, with myself from Iowa, constituted this sub-committee.

There existed in the country at that time four party elements of formidable strength, some of them differing in principle, all differing in policy on certain subjects vital to them. All of these were more or less represented in this convention, and in the General Committee on Platform. There was—

1. A party for a high protective tariff; and a party for a mere revenue tariff.

2. A party in favor of confining the disposition of public land to actual settlers for homesteads; and another for their unlimited sale to all applicants, for the benefit of the Treasury.

3. A party in favor of restricting our naturalization laws, and diminishing the equal standing of naturalized and native citizens.

4. A party of extreme anti-slavery men, holding extreme theories for the abolition of slavery everywhere; and a more conservative anti-slavery party for limiting national agitation to the exclusion of slavery from all the territories, and recognizing the right of each State to regulate its own domestic institutions.

The members of the Republican Convention were united on the question of the non-extension of slavery; but on all other of these questions had brought into the party with them their own prior convictions and prejudices from the old Democratic, Whig, Native American, and Abolition parties. This made the work of nationalizing the new party on all the great principles of public policy extremely difficult. It was apparently to attempt the impossible.

Upon the first point of dissension—the Tariff—I personally undertook to educe from the various contradictory propositions a conciliatory resolution, and succeeded in winning approval in the manner shown in Article XII of the platform as adopted.

Upon the second point I also took a special interest as a western man, and obtained the assent of the committee to a resolution in favor of actual settlers, as shown in Article XIII of the platform.

Upon the third point, that of the rights and privileges of naturalized citizens, it was necessary to stand up in a square fight with the native American element, and the sub-committee reported on that subject the resolution shown in Article XIV of the platform.

Upon the fourth point, that of the expression of our anti-slavery position, Mr. Greeley and myself were in opposition. The sub-committee finally accepted my views as necessary to the nationalization of the Republican party. These views were expressed in Articles II and IV of the platform as adopted, with a single exception. In the convention, the Abolitionists obtained the insertion in the second resolution of the extract from the Declaration of Independence, which is there inserted in quotation marks. To this there was no reasonable objection, as it expressed only what was already implied in the original draft. No other amendment was made to the platform in the convention.

Our sub-committee were out all night. Most of the essential points were settled by us by one or two o'clock in the morning. One after another the members withdrew for rest, until at daylight Mr. Greeley and myself alone remained. It was understood that I should put the platform into orderly arrangement as a whole. About sunrise Mr. Greeley left for the telegraph office, to send the often quoted despatch which appeared in the following issue of the TRIBUNE on the subject of the platform. Not

long after, having finished my work of revision, I went to my own room to put my weary head in cold water and to prepare for breakfast and the meeting of the General Committee. The Committee assembled at nine o'clock. There was careful reading and re-reading of the resolutions we had adopted, especially those involving the four points above mentioned, and some discussion. But, so far as I can recall the facts, not a single essential amendment was adopted, in the General Committee, to the platform as reported by the committee of five. There was general gratification expressed at the successful accomplishment of the very difficult work which had been taken from the shoulders of the General Committee. Enough was said, however, to indicate that there might be some contest still over some of the points when it should be reported to the convention.

The report was made in the afternnon, and the expected dissent on two or three of the points was developed, as shown by the published record. The convention, however, stood by the committee, as I have stated, with the exception of the single point introducing in the second resolution an extract from the Declaration of Independence.

On the third and last day of the convention the names of candidates were presented without nominating speeches, as follows:

William H. Seward of New York, by William M. Evarts of New York.

Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, by Norman B. Judd of Illinois.

Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, by Andrew H. Reeder of Pennsylvania.

Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, by David K. Cartter of Ohio.

Edward Bates of Missouri, by Francis P. Blair of Missouri.

William L. Dayton of New Jersey, by Thomas H. Dudley of New Jersey.

John McLean of Ohio, by Thomas Corwin of Ohio.

The nominations of Lincoln and Seward were seconded by other states and the ballot then taken resulted as follows:

States.	Seward.	Lincoln	Cameron.	Chase.	Bates.	McLean.
California	8					
Connecticut		2		7	2	
Delaware				8		
Illinois		22				
Indiana		26				
Iowa	2	2	1	1	1	1
Kentucky	5	6			8	1
Maine	10	6				
Maryland	3			8		
Massachusetts	21	4				
Michigan	12					
Minnesota	8					
Missouri				18		
New Hampshire	1	7			1	
New Jersey						
New York	70					
Ohio		8			34	4
Oregon				5		
Pennsylvania	1½	4	47½			1
Rhode Island				1	1	5
Texas	4			2		
Vermont						
Virginia	8	14	1			
Wisconsin	10					
Territories:						
Kansas	6					
Nebraska	2	1	1		2	
District of Columbia	2					
Total	173½	102	50½	50	49	12

Scattering votes were cast as follows:

William L. Dayton of New Jersey, 14 (from that state); Jacob Collamer of Vermont, 10 (from that state); Benjamin L. Wade of Ohio, 3 (1 from Connecticut and 2 from Kentucky); John M. Reed of Pennsylvania, 1 (from Rhode Island); Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, 1 (from Kentucky); and John C. Fremont 1 (from New Hampshire).

When the state of Maryland was called, the chairman of that delegation stated that the Republican state convention of Maryland had requested the delegation to vote as a unit, and in accordance with the wishes of a majority of that delegation he announced its eleven votes for Edward Bates of Missouri. Mr. Wm. E. Coale and Mr. Charles L. Armour, delegates from Maryland, objected to that record, and stated that a resolution instructing the delegation to vote for Mr. Bates was presented and voted down. A motion was then adopted "recommending" that the delegation vote for Mr. Bates, which they did not consider binding or conclusive on them. They claimed the right to vote for the candidate of their choice. The chair ruled that under rule 2 the vote announced by the chairman

of a state delegation must be accepted unless the convention otherwise directed. Being unwilling to take the responsibility of deciding so important a matter, the chair submitted the question whether the vote as announced by the chairman should be received and recorded as the vote of Maryland, and the convention decided in the negative. Three votes were then announced for Mr. Seward and eight for Mr. Bates.

The result of this ballot caused general surprise. So universal was the opinion that Mr. Seward would be nominated on the first ballot, that Mr. Greeley telegraphed the *Tribune*, about midnight on June 17, that "the opposition to Mr. Seward cannot concentrate on any candidate and he will be nominated." Mr. Greeley had made a thorough canvass and stubborn contest against Mr. Seward, and used, with great effect, the argument of the Native American leaders,—or those sympathizing with that organization,—that Governor Seward's recommendation for an equitable division of the school fund between Protestant and Catholic schools, would make New York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island doubtful if he were nominated, and that several of the eastern states were either opposed, or indifferent to him on that ground.

The result of the first ballot, though not confirming Mr. Greeley's prediction in regard to that vote, showed that the New England and Middle states were far from being solid for Mr. Seward. He did not receive a vote from either Connecticut or Rhode Island, while Maine gave him 10 of her 16 votes and New Hampshire but 1 of her 10 votes. Vermont gave a complimentary vote to Senator Collamer (10), and Massachusetts gave Mr. Lincoln 4 votes. Virginia, which had been counted as solid for Mr. Seward, gave Mr. Lincoln 14 votes on the first ballot.

A second ballot was then taken, resulting as follows: Mr. Seward 184½, Mr. Lincoln 181, Mr. Chase 42½, Mr. Bates 35½, Mr. Dayton 10, Mr. McLean 8, Mr. Cameron 2, and Mr. Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky 2. On this ballot Mr. Seward gained 11 votes, viz: 1 vote from Massachusetts, 4 from New Jersey, 1 from Pennsylvania, 2 from Kentucky, 2 from Texas, and 1 from Nebraska. Mr. Lincoln gained 79 votes, viz: 2 from Connecticut, 6 from Delaware, 3 from Iowa, 3 from Kentucky, 2 from New Hampshire, 44 from Pennsylvania, 6 from Ohio, 3 from Rhode Island, 10 from Vermont.

A third ballot was then taken, resulting as follows: Mr. Lincoln 231½, Mr. Seward 180, Mr. Chase 24½, Mr. Bates 22, Mr. McLean 5, and Messrs. Clay and Dayton 1 each. On this ballot Mr. Seward lost 4 votes from Massachusetts, 2½ from Pennsylvania, 1 from Mary-

land, and 1 from Kentucky, and gained 1 from Rhode Island, 1 from Connecticut, and 1 from New Jersey. Mr. Lincoln gained 4 from Massachusetts, 2 from Rhode Island, 8 from New Jersey, 4 from Pennsylvania, 9 from Maryland, 4 from Kentucky, 15 from Ohio, ½ from Iowa, 4 from Oregon, and 1 from Nebraska, or 51½ in all.

At the completion of the roll-call Mr. Lincoln was within 2½ votes of a nomination.

Four votes were transferred to him from the Ohio delegation by David K. Cartter, after which several delegations changed in his favor, until he had 352½ votes, the remaining votes being cast as follows: For Mr. Seward—Massachusetts, 8; New York, 70; New Jersey, 5; Pennsylvania, ½; Maryland, 2; Michigan, 12; Wisconsin, 10; California, 3—total, 110½. For Mr. Dayton 1 vote (New Jersey) and 1 vote for Mr. McLean. The convention then took a recess, and two ballots were had for a candidate for Vice-President, with the following result:

	First.	*Second.*
Hannibal Hamlin of Maine	194	367
Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky	101½	86
John Hickman of Pennsylvania	58	13
Andrew H. Reeder of Pennsylvania	51	....
Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts	38½	....
Scattering	15	....

The nomination of Mr. Hamlin having been made unanimous, Mr. Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio submitted the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with those men who have been driven, some from their native States and others from the States of their adoption, and one now exiled from his home on account of their opinions; and we hold the Democratic party responsible for the gross violation of that clause of the Constitution which declares that citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several States.

Edwin D. Morgan of New York was again elected chairman of the Executive Committee, and Edward McPherson of Pennsylvania was chosen secretary.

The Democratic National Convention met at Charleston, S. C., on April 23d, 1860. A bitter contest arose in respect to credentials, platform, &c., and the Committee on Resolutions were unable to report for five days, there being two minority reports. On the 30th a vote was reached. The convention was disrupted, one faction nominating Stephen A. Douglass of Illinois for President, and Benjamin Fitzpatrick of Alabama for Vice-President. Mr. Fitzpatrick declined and the national committee substituted the name of Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia. The other (seceding) faction nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky for President, and Joseph Lane of Oregon for Vice-President. The Constitutional Union party the ghost of the Whig party) met at Baltimore on May 9, and nominated John Bell of Tennessee for President, and Edward Everett

of Massachusetts for Vice-President. The canvass which followed was earnest and exciting, amounting in many states to fierceness. The nomination of Mr. Lincoln appealed strongly to the "rural element," especially to the young men, and throughout the Northern states, during September and October, mass-meetings, processions, torch-light parades and "rail-splitting bees" were to be seen everywhere and contributed largely to the triumph in November.

The general confidence of the Republicans that they were to be victorious was not misplaced. The early elections in Maine, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, foreshadowed Mr. Lincoln's election, and every Northern state save New Jersey was carried by them.

Thirty-three states participated in this election—Minnesota having been admitted May 11, 1858, and Oregon, February 12, 1859.

The popular and electoral votes were as follows:

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTES OF 1860.

States.	Popular.				Electoral.			
	Lincoln, Republican.	Douglas, Northern Democrat.	Breckinridge, Southern Democrat.	Bell.	Lincoln.	Douglas.	Breckinridge.	Bell.
Alabama		13,651	48,831	27,875			9	
Arkansas		5,227	28,732	20,094			4	
California	39,173	38,516	34,334	6,817	4			
Connecticut	43,692	15,522	14,641	3,291	6			
Delaware	3,815	1,023	7,347	3,864			3	
Florida		367	8,543	5,437			3	
Georgia		11,590	51,889	42,886			10	
Illinois	172,161	160,255	2,404	3,913	12			
Indiana	139,033	115,509	12,295	5,306	13			
Iowa	70,409	55,111	1,048	1,763	4			
Kentucky	1,364	25,651	53,143	66,058				12
Louisiana		5,625	22,681	20,204			6	
Maine	62,811	26,693	6,368	2,046	8			
Maryland	2,294	5,966	42,482	41,760			8	
Massachusetts	106,533	34,372	5,939	22,331	13			
Michigan	88,480	65,057	805	405	6			
Minnesota	22,069	11,920	748	62	4			
Mississippi		3,293	40,797	25,040			7	
Missouri	17,028	58,801	31,317	58,372		9		
New Hampshire	37,519	25,881	2,112	441	5			
New Jersey	58,324	62,801			4	3		
New York	362,646	312,510			35			
North Carolina		2,701	48,339	44,090			10	
Ohio	231,610	187,232	11,405	12,194	23			
Oregon	5,270	3,951	3,006	183	3			
Pennsylvania	268,030	16,765	178,871	12,776	27			
Rhode Island	12,244	7,707			4			
South Carolina*							8	
Tennessee		11,350	64,709	69,274				12
Texas			47,548	15,438			4	
Vermont	33,808	6,849	1,967	218	5			
Virginia	1,929	16,290	74,323	74,681				15
Wisconsin	86,110	65,021	888	161	5			
Total	1,866,351	1,375,157	847,514	587,830	180	12	72	39

*By Legislature.

THIRD NATIONAL CONVENTION,

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, JUNE 7 AND 8, 1864.

LINCOLN and JOHNSON.

The election of 1864 took place during the throes of the great civil war. It had long been manifest that the (Republican) convention called to meet in Baltimore on June 7 would renominate Mr. Lincoln. A small but active—if not bitter—minority of the Republican party complained of his conservatism and unwillingness to adopt certain radical or extreme measures which they deemed essential to success, and an attempt was made to forestall the action of the Baltimore convention by calling a convention in Cleveland, which met on May 31. It contained about three hundred and fifty persons, including Wendell Phillips, B. Gratz Brown of Missouri, Rev. Dr. Cheever of New York, and other "extremists." General John Cochrane of New York was made chairman. General John C. Fremont was nominated for President by acclamation, and General Cochrane for Vice-President. September 21st, following, both were compelled, by an overwhelming sentiment in the North, developed by the extreme and impracticable platform adopted by the convention, to withdraw their acceptance of the nominations. That platform demanded the suppression of the rebellion without compromise; the confiscation of all property of the rebels, and its distribution among soldiers and actual settlers.

The call issued by the Executive Committee created by the preceding (Chicago) convention did not use the word "Republican," but called upon "all qualified voters who desire the unconditional maintenance of the Union, the supremacy of the Constitution, and the complete suppression of the existing rebellion, with the cause thereof, by a vigorous war, and all apt and efficient means," &c.

The Rev. Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge of Kentucky was named by the Executive Committee as temporary chairman, and George A.

Shaw of Massachusetts, secretary. The roll of states was called, and lists of delegates handed in—including contestants—after which the motion of Thaddeus Stevens that all contested cases be laid over was agreed to. A contest arose as to representation from states then in rebellion, ending in the reference of all credentials from such states to the Committee on Credentials. The rules of the House of Representatives were then adopted for the government of the convention so far as applicable.

The roll of states was then called, and committees on Credentials, Organization, Resolutions, and Order of Busines formed, after which the convention adjourned.

Second Day, June 8, 1864, 10 A. M.

The Committee on Order of Business then submitted the following report, which was adopted without debate or division:

Rule 1. Upon all subjects before the convention, the states shall be called in the following order: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, California, Oregon, West Virginia, Kansas, and other states and territories declared by the convention entitled to representation in the same shall be called in the order in which they are added by the convention.

Rule 2. Four votes shall be cast by the delegates at large of each state, and each congressional district shall be entitled to two votes. The votes of each delegation shall be reported by its chairman.

Rule 3. The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions is acted upon, and the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions shall be disposed of before the convention proceeds to ballot for candidates for President and Vice-President.

Rule 4. That when it shall be determined by this convention what states and territories are entitled to representation in this convention, together with the number of votes to which they may be entitled, a majority of all the votes so determined shall be requisite to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President.

Rule 5. When a majority of the delegations from any two states shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by states, the secretary calling the roll of states in the order heretofore stated.

Rule 6. In a recorded vote by states, the vote of each state shall be announced by the chairman of the respective delegations, and in case the vote of any state shall be divided, the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate, or for or against any proposition.

Rule 7. That when the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the delegation from any state, and the demand seconded by two or more states, and then sustained by a majority of the convention, the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the rules of the House of Representatives in similar cases.

Rule 8. No member shall speak more than once to the same question, nor longer than five minutes, without the unanimous consent of the convention.

Rule 9. The rules of the House of Representatives shall continue to be the rules of this convention, so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the foregoing rules.

The Committee on Credentials, through Preston King of New York, then reported that the credentials presented were correct and sufficient, except as hereafter stated.

From the first district of Pennsylvania four delegates were elected when the district was entitled to but two. The committee recom-

mended that the two having the highest number of votes be admitted as delegates and the other two as alternates.

In the case of Missouri the committee reported in favor of the "Radical Union delegation."

The committee recommended that the delegations from Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Tennessee and Virginia be admitted without the right to vote, and that the delegation from South Carolina be not admitted. The committee recommended that the delegations from the organized territories and the District of Columbia be admitted but not allowed to vote.

W. E. Stevenson of West Virginia submitted a minority report, signed by himself and Hiram Smith of Oregon, recommending that the delegations from the Southern states named, and the territories, be admitted with the right to vote.

An additional minority report was submitted by Mr. A. H. Imsley of Kansas in respect to the delegations from Colorado, Nebraska and Nevada. A sharp contest followed and ex-Speaker Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania (present as a spectator) was called upon to solve a parliamentary question as to certain practice under the rules of the House of Representatives.

An amendment was adopted giving each of the delegates from the Southern states and the territories above named the right to vote.

The following report made by Henry J. Raymond of New York from the Committee on Resolutions was then adopted:

Resolved, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves, as Union men, animated by a common sentiment, and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the government in quelling, by force of arms the rebellion now waging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

Resolved, That we approve the determination of the government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, nor to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an "unconditional" surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the constitution and laws of the United States, and that we call upon the government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions.

Resolved, That as slavery was the cause and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic; and that while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the government, in its own defense, has aimed a death blow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States.

Resolved, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy, who have periled their lives in defense of their country, and in vindication of the honor of the flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and valor, and ample and permanent provision for

those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

Resolved, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism and unswerving fidelity to the constitution and principles of American liberty with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the presidential office; that we approve and indorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation, and as within provisions of the constititution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve, especially, the proclamation of emancipation, and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

Resolved, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the government.

Resolved, That the government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction or color, the full protection of the laws of war; and that any violation of these laws or of the usages of civilized nations in time of war, by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress.

Resolved, That the foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources and increase of power to this nation—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by liberal and just policy.

Resolved, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast.

Resolved, That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and it is the duty of every loyal state to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

Resolved, That we approve the position taken by the government that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any republican government on the western continent, and that they view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchial governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

The convention then proceeded to a formal vote for a candidate for President, upon which President Lincoln received the vote of every state except that of Missouri, the delegates from which, under instructions from their convention, voted for Gen. Grant.

The convention then balloted for a candidate for Vice-President, with the following result:

Andrew Johnson of Tennessee	200
Hannibal Hamlin of Maine	145
Daniel S. Dickinson of New York	113
Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts	28
Lovell H. Rosseau of Kentucky	21
Scattering	13

Before the result was declared, changes took place, the final result being that Mr. Johnson received 494 votes, Dickinson 17, and Hamlin 8.

The Democratic National Convention met at Chicago on August 29, and after adopting a platform, in which the war was declared a failure, nominated for President General George B. McClellan,

"whose half-hearted, dilatory course while in command of the Army of the Potomac," says Mr. Smalley, "was largely responsible for whatever failure had characterized the war up to that time," and George H. Pendleton of Ohio for Vice-President. This absurd—if not disloyal—declaration, was speedily answered by the news of General Sherman's capture of Atlanta, and that Farragut had carried the defences of Mobile. The Republican argument was simply that it was the duty of every loyal man to sustain the government in its efforts to crush the rebellion and save the Union, and General McClellan's repudiation of that plank in the Democratic platform saved him the electoral votes of two of the three states which were carried by the Democrats, viz: Delaware and New Jersey.

The popular vote was as follows:

States.	*Lincoln.*	*McClellan.*
California	62,134	43,841
Connecticut	44,693	42,288
Delaware	8,155	8,767
Illinois	189,487	158,349
Indiana	150,422	130,233
Iowa	87,331	49,260
Kansas	14,228	3,871
Kentucky	27,786	64,301
Maine	72,278	47,736
Maryland	40,153	32,739
Massachusetts	126,742	48,745
Michigan	85,352	67,370
Minnesota	25,060	17,375
Missouri	72,991	31,026
Nevada	9,826	6,594
New Hampshire	36,595	33,034
New Jersey	60,723	68,014
New York	368,726	361,986
Ohio	265,154	205,568
Oregon	9,888	8,457
Pennsylvania	296,389	276,308
Rhode Island	14,343	8,718
Vermont	42,422	13,325
West Virginia	23,223	10,457
Wisconsin	79,564	63,875
Totals	2,213,665	1,802,237

Mr. Lincoln received 212 electoral votes and General McClellan 21, viz: New Jersey 7, Delaware 3, and Kentucky 11. Nevada chose three electors, one of whom did not appear when the vote was taken.

Henry J. Raymond of New York was elected chairman, and Edward McPherson secretary of the Republican national committee for the ensuing campaign.

FOURTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, MAY 20, 21, 1868.

GRANT and COLFAX.

By the assassination of President Lincoln on April 14, 1865, Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, became President. Mr. Johnson had been nominated with the view of recognizing the war Democrats and the "sturdy Unionists of the South." From a position of almost violent hatred of the people of the rebellious states,—or at least the leaders in the late rebellion,—he changed his attitude so radically in a few months, that he was in direct antagonism with the party which elected him in respect to its policy for the reconstruction or reorganization of the seceding states. It is no part of the purpose of the writer to narrate details of the long and bitter contest—during which he escaped impeachment by one vote—which only ended on his retirement from office on March 4, 1869. Suffice it to say that the campaign of 1868 was fought upon the issues growing out of the reconstruction acts of Congress, the amendments to the Constitution, and the suffrage and citizenship they conferred upon the colored race.

The Republican National Convention convened in Chicago on May 20, 1868. There was practically no contest for the nomination for President, it being almost universally conceded that Gen. Ulysses S. Grant was the natural and inevitable choice of the Republicans for that office. The controlling reasons for this were his great military achievements, the part he took in the controversy with President Johnson, and the fact that he was known to be in sympathy with the Republican party in respect to the questions growing out of the war, although he had never voted the Republican ticket. This feeling was demonstrated to the full satisfaction of the convention of soldiers and sailors—presided over by Gen. John A. Logan—which met in Chicago previous to the meeting of the convention and passed resolutions earnestly demanding his nomination.

The convention was called to order by Gov. Marcus L. Ward of New Jersey, chairman of the Republican national committee, who

presented the name of Carl Schurz of Missouri for temporary chairman. An organization was then perfected, Gen. Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut being made president. There were no contests, the Committee on Credentials having practically nothing to do but confirm the work of the national committee as to the roll. Mr. R. W. Barker of New York, from the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, made a report, which was adopted with slight amendment.

Richard W. Thompson of Indiana, from the Committee on Resolutions, then reported the following platform:

The national Republican party of the United States, assembled in National Convention in the city of Chicago on the 21st day of May, 1868, make the following declaration of principles:

1. We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of congress, as evinced by the adoption, in a majority of the states lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal, civil, and political rights to all; and it is the duty of the government to sustain those constitutions, and to prevent the people of such states from being remitted to a state of anarchy or military rule.

2. The guarantee by congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained; while the question of suffrage in all the loyal states properly belongs to the people of those states.

3. We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime, and national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the utmost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted.

4. It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized, and reduced as rapidly as national faith will permit.

5. The national debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period of redemption; and it is the duty of congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can honestly be done.

6. That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay, and must continue to pay so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.

7. The government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform.

8. We profoundly deplore the untimely and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession of Andrew Johnson to the Presidency, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; who has usurped high legislative and judicial functions; who has refused to execute the laws; who has used his high office to induce others to ignore and violate the laws; who has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, the peace, liberty, and life of the citizen; who has abused the pardoning power; who has denounced the national legislature as unconstitutional; who has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the states lately in rebellion; who has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption, and who has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the vote of thirty-five senators.

9. The doctrine by Great Britain and other European powers, that because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States as a relic of feudal times not authorized by the laws of nations and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to protection in all their rights of citizenship as though they were native born, and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power for acts done or words spoken in this country; and if so arrested and imprisoned it is the duty of the government to interfere in his behalf.

10. Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise and imperiled their lives in the service of the country. The

bounties and pensions provided by the laws for these brave defenders of the nation are obligations never to be forgotten. The widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.

11. Foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development and resources, and increase of power to this nation—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

12. This convention declares itself in sympathy with all oppressed people struggling for their rights.

13. That we highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forbearance with which men who have served in the rebellion, but who now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the Southern state governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

14. That we recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence as the true foundation of democratic government, and we hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil.

The above includes two resolutions—numbers 11 and 12—submitted by Carl Schurz and accepted by the committee and convention.

Nominations for a candidate for President being then in order, Gen. John A. Logan presented the name of Ulysses S. Grant, and no other name being presented the roll of states was then called and every vote—650 in all—was cast for him. The convention then proceeded to ballot for a candidate for Vice-President, five ballots being necessary to effect a nomination. The several ballots resulted as follows:

	First.	Second.	Third.	Fourth.	Fifth.
Benjamin E. Wade, Ohio	147	170	178	206	38
Reuben E. Fenton, New York	126	144	139	144	69
Henry Wilson, Massachusetts	119	114	101	87	.....
Schuyler Colfax, Indiana	115	145	165	186	541
Andrew G. Curtin, Pennsylvania	51	45	40	.....	.....
Hannibal Hamlin, Maine	28	30	25	25	.....
James Speed, Kentucky	22	.....	.....	.....	.....
James Harlan, Iowa	16	.....	.....	.....	.....
John A. J. Creswell, Maryland	14	.....	.....	.....	.....
Samuel C. Pomeroy, Kansas	6	.....	.....	.....	.....
William D. Kelley, Pennsylvania	4	.....	.....	.....	.....

William Claflin of Massachusetts was made chairman and John D. Defrees of Indiana secretary of the national committee.

The following resolution, introduced by Richard W. Thompson of Indiana, was adopted:

Resolved, That the adjournment of this convention shall not work a dissolution of the same, but it shall remain as organized, subject to be called together at any time and place that the National Republican Executive Committee shall designate.

The Democratic national convention was held in New York, July 4–11 and, after a week's session, and in spite of his vehement objection and protest, nominated Horatio Seymour of New York (its presiding officer) for President, and unanimously nominated—in spite of his revolutionary Broadhead letter—General Frank P. Blair of Missouri for Vice-President.

The delay in nominating candidates grew out of the enforcement of the "unit rule" and the course of the New York and Pennsylvania delegations in blocking action by abandoning "growing candidates when they became dangerous."

The votes of thirty-three of the thirty-seven states (Nebraska having been admitted March 1, 1867), were counted; the states of Mississippi, Texas and Virginia, not being entitled to representation in congress under the act of July 20, 1868, passed over President Johnson's veto, were excluded from the electoral college, the case of Georgia being in doubt, though it was treated as Missouri had been in 1820.

The popular and electoral votes, with the exceptions above stated, were as follows:

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTES OF 1868.

States.	Popular.		Electoral.	
	Grant, Republican.	Seymour, Democrat.	Grant.	Seymour.
Alabama	76,366	72,086	8	
Arkansas	22,152	19,078	5	
California	54,592	54,078	5	
Connecticut	50,641	47,600	6	
Delaware	7,623	10,980		3
*Florida			3	
Georgia	57,134	102,822		9
Illinois	250,293	199,143	16	
Indiana	176,552	166,980	13	
Iowa	120,399	74,040	8	
Kansas	31,049	14,019	3	
Kentucky	39,566	115,889		11
Louisiana	33,263	80,225		7
Maine	70,426	42,396	7	
Maryland	30,438	62,357		7
Massachusetts	136,477	59,408	12	
Michigan	128,550	97,069	8	
Minnesota	43,542	28,072	4	
Missouri	85,671	59,788	11	
Nebraska	9,729	5,439	3	
Nevada	6,480	5,218	3	
New Hampshire	38,191	31,224	5	
New Jersey	80,121	83,001		7
New York	419,883	429,883		33
North Carolina	96,226	84,090	9	
Ohio	280,128	238,700	21	
Oregon	10,961	11,125		3
Pennsylvania	342,280	313,382	26	
Rhode Island	12,993	6,548	4	
South Carolina	62,301	45,237	6	
Tennessee	56,757	26,311	10	
Vermont	44,167	12,045	5	
West Virginia	29,025	20,306	5	
Wisconsin	108,857	84,710	8	
Totals	3,012,833	2,703,249	214	80

*Florida adopted the system—discarded by South Carolina—of choosing electors by the legislature. Mississippi was entitled to 7, Texas 6, and Virginia 10 electoral votes. The vote of Georgia was counted in the form prescribed by the Senate concurrent resolution introduced by Senator Edmunds, agreed to by the House, though the House, by a vote of 150 to 41, decided that the vote of Georgia should not be counted on the grounds stated by General Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts, viz:

First. That the votes were not given on the day fixed by law. The electoral college of Georgia had met on the 9th instead of the 2d of December, 1868;

Second. Because at the date of the election Georgia had not been admitted to representation in congress;

Third. Because Georgia had not complied with the reconstruction acts; and

Fourth. Because the election had not been fair and free.

FIFTH NATIONAL CONVENTION,

PHILADELPHIA, PA., JUNE 5–6, 1872.

GRANT and WILSON.

In spite of the disaffection of many of the old leaders of the Republican party toward President Grant's administration, culminating in the Liberal Republican convention, which met at Cincinnati May 1 and nominated Horace Greeley for President, and B. Gratz Brown of Missouri for Vice-President, it was evident that the only contest in the Republican national convention would be over the Vice-Presidency and platform.

The convention was called to order by William Claflin of Massachusetts, chairman of the national committee, who, under instruction of said committee, announced the appointment of Morton McMichael of Pennsylvania as temporary chairman.

An organization was perfected by the appointment of the usual committees, the Committee on Permanent Organization presenting the name of Thomas Settle of North Carolina for president, and Henry H. Bingham of Pennsylvania for secretary, after which the convention adjourned.

The following day, June 6, Mr. Oliver Ames of Massachusetts, from the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, submitted a report, which was unanimously agreed to. This being the first full and complete code of rules and order of business adopted, the same is given in full, viz:

Rule 1. Upon all subjects before the convention the states shall be called in alphabetical order, and next the territories.

Rule 2. Each state shall be entitled to double the number of its senators and representatives in congress, according to the recent apportionment, and each territory shall be entitled to two votes. The vote of each delegation shall be reported by its chairman.

Rule 3. The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions is acted upon, and the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions shall be disposed of before the convention proceed to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President.

Rule 4. In making the nominations for President and Vice-President, in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with. When it shall appear that any candidate has received the majority of the votes cast, the president of the convention shall announce the question to be: "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?" But if no candidate shall have received a majority of the votes, the

chair shall direct the vote to be again taken, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast.

Rule 5. When a majority of the delegates from any two states shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by states, the secretary calling the roll of states in the order henceforth stated.

Rule 6. In the record of the vote by states the vote of each state shall be announced by the chairman, and in case the votes of any state shall be divided the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate, or for or against any proposition.

Rule 7. When the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the delegation of any state, and the demand seconded by two or more states, and the call sustained by the majority of the convention, the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the rules of the House of Representatives in similar cases.

Rule 8. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the convention, except that the delegates presenting the name of a candidate shall be allowed ten minutes to present the name of such candidate.

Rule 9. The rules of the House of Representatives shall be the rules of this convention so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the foregoing rules.

Rule 10. A Republican national committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each state, territory, and district. The roll shall be called and the delegation from each state, territory, and district shall name, through their chairman, a person to act as a member of such committee.

After several speeches of a general character had been made, Shelby M. Cullom of Illinois presented the name of Ulysses S. Grant as a candidate for President of the United States for a second term Steward L. Woodford of New York, and M. D. Bonuck of California, on behalf of their states, seconded and indorsed the nomination, after which the roll of states was called by the secretary, each state and territory casting its entire vote for Gen. Grant. The president announced that Ulysses S. Grant had received 752 votes—the entire vote of the convention—and was unanimously nominated.

The rules were then suspended and the convention proceeded to vote for a candidate for Vice-President.

The name of Henry Wilson of Massachusetts was presented by Morton McMichael of Pennsylvania, and seconded by George B. Loring of Massachusetts, Gerrit Smith of New York, and John F. Quarles of Georgia; the name of Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, by Richard W. Thompson of Indiana, which was seconded by William A. Howard of Michigan, John R. Lynch of Mississippi, and Cortland Parker of New Jersey. The name of John F. Lewis of Virginia was presented by James B. Sener of that state; the name of E. J. Davis of Texas, by Webster Flanagan of that state; and the name of Horace Maynard of Tennessee, by David A. Nunn of said state.

At this point Glenni W. Scofield of Pennsylvania, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, reported the following platform, which was unanimously adopted without debate:

The Republican party of the United States, assembled in National Convention in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th and 6th days of June, 1872, again declares its faith, appeals to its history, and announces its position upon the questions before the country.

1. During eleven years of supremacy, it has accepted with grand courage the solemn duties of the time. It suppressed a gigantic rebellion, emancipated 4,000,000 of

slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, and established universal suffrage. Exhibiting unparalleled magnanimity, it criminally punished no man for political offences, and warmly welcomed all who proved loyalty by obeying the laws and dealing justly with their neighbors. It has steadily decreased with firm hand the reluctant disorders of a great war, and initiated a wise and humane policy toward the Indians. The Pacific railroad and similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual settlers, immigration protected and encouraged, and a full acknowledgment of the naturalized citizen's rights secured from European powers. A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at low rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and honestly applied. Despite annual large reductions of the rates of taxation, the public debt has been reduced during Gen. Grant's Presidency at the rate of $100,000,000 a year, great financial crises have been avoided, and peace and plenty prevail throughout the land. Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably composed, and the honor and power of the nation kept in high respect throughout the world. This glorious record of the past is the party's best pledge for the future. We believe the people will not intrust the government to any party or combination of men composed chiefly of those who have resisted every step of this beneficent progress.

2. The recent amendments to the national constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right,—not merely tolerated because they are law,—and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be intrusted only to the party that secured those amendments.

3. Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate state and federal legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude.

4. The national government should seek to maintain honorable peace with all nations, protecting its citizens everywhere, and sympathizing with all peoples who strive for greater liberty.

5. Any system of the civil service, under which the subordinate positions of the government are considered rewards for mere party zeal, is fatally demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage, and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life tenure of office.

6. We are opposed to further grants of public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

7. The annual revenue, after paying current expenditures, pensions, and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance for the reduction of the principal, and that revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and to promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country.

8. We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the nation, and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the government to all of our soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who, in the line of duty, became disabled, without regard to the length of service or the cause of such discharge.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers concerning allegiance—"once a subject always a subject"—having at last, through efforts of the Republican party, been abandoned, and the American idea of the individual's right to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our government to guard with jealous care the rights of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by their former governments; and we urge continued careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration.

10. The franking privilege ought to be abolished, and the way prepared for a speedy reduction in the rates of postage.

11. Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor; and the Republican party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital,—and for labor, the creator of capital,—the largest opportunities, and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization.

12. We hold that Congress and the President have only fulfilled an imperative duty in the measures for the suppression of violent and treasonable organization in certain

lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot-box; and, therefore, they are entitled to the thanks of the nation.

13. We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance, and confidently expect that our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment.

14. The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to the wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction; and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

15. We heartily approve the action of congress in extending amnesty to those lately in rebellion, and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land.

16. The Republican party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves, as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the state and to the federal government. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils, by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the state or national government.

17. It is the duty of the general government to adopt such measures as may tend to encourage and restore American commerce and shipbuilding.

18. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity, and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended him to the hearts of the American people, and with him at our head we start to-day upon a new march to victory.

The nomination of Henry Wilson was further seconded by Governor E. F. Noyes of Ohio, James Hill of Mississippi, and Powell Clayton of Arkansas, and that of Schuyler Colfax by W. D. Bickham of Ohio.

The roll of states was then called, the vote standing at the conclusion as follows: Wilson, 361; Colfax, 306; Horace Maynard of Tennessee, 26; John F. Lewis of Virginia, 22; E. J. Davis of Texas, 16, and Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut and E. F. Noyes of Ohio, one each.

Twenty delegates from Virginia, nine from West Virginia and six from Georgia changed from Colfax to Wilson, the vote standing: Henry Wilson, 399½; Schuyler Colfax, 308½; Horace Maynard, 26; E. J. Davis, 16, and 2 scattering.

The following resolution was then unanimously adopted and added to the platform:

Henry Wilson, nominated for the Vice-Presidency, known to the whole land from the early days of the great struggle for liberty as an indefatigable laborer in all campaigns, an incorruptible legislator and representative man of American institutions, is worthy to associate with our great leader, and share the honors which we pledge our best efforts to bestow upon them.

William Claflin of Massachusetts was re-elected chairman of the national committee, and William E. Chandler of New Hampshire elected secretary.

The first organized opposition to the renomination of President Grant developed in 1870, in Missouri, which state in 1864 instructed its (Republican) delegation to cast its vote for General Grant as against Mr. Lincoln. Many prominent Republicans united with the Democrats in a "Liberal" movement and carried their state ticket.

It increased during the following year and extended to Ohio. A mass meeting of Liberal Republicans was held at Jefferson City, Mo., in January, 1872, in which most of the committees of the state were represented, and that meeting called a national convention of Liberal Republicans to meet at Cincinnati on May 1st following.

The convention met, issued an address to the people, adopted a platform and nominated Horace Greeley of New York for President, and B. Gratz Brown of Missouri for Vice-President.

The Democratic national convention met at Baltimore, Maryland, on July 9, adopted the Liberal Republican address and platform without change, and in spite of earnest opposition, formally nominated Messrs. Greeley and Brown, respectively, for President and Vice-President.

That action developed so much opposition that a "straight Democratic convention" was called and held at Louisville, Kentucky, on September 3. Charles O'Connor of New York was nominated for President and Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts for Vice-President. Mr. O'Connor peremptorily declined the nomination, and Mr. Adams had previously written a letter saying that while he did not wish the nomination, he would accept if Mr. O'Connor would stand. The convention then nominated Mr. Matthew Lyon of Virginia (president of the convention) in Mr. O'Connor's place, but Mr. Lyon declined and the convention then renominated Mr. O'Connor.

The Labor Reformers met at Columbus, Ohio, on February 21, and nominated David Davis of Illinois for President, and Joel Parker of New Jersey for Vice-President. In June following both withdrew their names and a few delegates met and nominated Charles O'Connor for President, but made no nomination for Vice-President.

The Prohibitionists met at Columbus on February 22 and nominated James Black of Pennsylvania for President, and John Russell of Michigan for Vice-President.

The result of the campaign was never in doubt after the summer elections. The Democratic leaders were "disgruntled" over Mr. Greeley's nomination, and the "rank and file" of the party—especially in New York and Pennsylvania—either refrained from voting or voted for Mr. O'Connor.

The result of the popular vote was as follows:

States.	Grant. Republican.	Greeley. Liberal and Democrat.
Alabama	90,272	79,444
Arkansas	41,373	37,927
California	54,020	40,718
Connecticut	50,638	45,880
Delaware	11,115	10,206
Florida	17,763	15,427
Georgia	62,550	76,356
Illinois	241,944	184,938
Indiana	186,147	163,632
Iowa	131,566	71,196
Kansas	67,048	32,970
Kentucky	88,766	99,995
Louisiana	71,663	57,029
Maine	61,422	29,087
Maryland	66,760	67,687
Massachusetts	133,472	59,260
Michigan	138,455	78,355
Minnesota	55,117	34,423
Mississippi	82,175	47,288
Missouri	119,196	151,434
Nebraska	18,329	7,812
Nevada	8,413	6,236
New Hampshire	37,168	31,424
New Jersey	91,656	76,456
New York	440,736	387,281
North Carolina	94,769	70,094
Ohio	281,852	244,321
Oregon	11,819	7,730
Pennsylvania	349,589	212,041
Rhode Island	13,665	5,329
South Carolina	72,290	22,703
Tennessee	85,655	94,391
Texas	47,468	66,546
Vermont	41,481	10,927
Virginia	93,468	91,654
West Virginia	32,315	29,451
Wisconsin	104,997	86,477
Totals	3,597,132	2,834,125

The O'Connor ticket received an aggregate vote of 29,489 cast in 23 states, Maryland giving but 19 votes.

The following states were carried for Greeley and Brown, with electoral votes as follows, viz: Georgia, 11; Kentucky, 12; Maryland, 8; Missouri, 15; Tennessee, 12, and Texas, 8. Total, 66.

Mr. Greeley died November 29, 1872, a few days after the choice of electors had been made, and the electoral votes to which he was entitled were distributed between Messrs. Hendricks of Indiana, Brown of Missouri, Jenkins of Georgia, and David Davis of Illinois, seventeen votes not being cast or counted for any person, viz: six from Arkansas, three from Georgia, and eight from Louisiana.

In the above table the vote of Louisiana is given in accordance with what is known as the "Custom-House Count," there being two "returning boards."

The returning board of which Governor Henry C. Warmouth was

ex-officio president, forwarded a set of returns showing that 59,975 votes were cast for General Grant and 66,467 for Mr. Greeley. Each board undoubtedly manipulated the returns so as to produce a particular result, and for that reason the vote of the state was thrown out by Congress, as was also the vote of Arkansas, the latter on a trifling technicality as to the seal. The three electoral votes cast by Georgia for Horace Greeley were rejected by the House, but accepted by the Senate, and so under the joint rule were not counted.

SIXTH NATIONAL CONVENTION,

CINCINNATI, OHIO, JUNE 14–16, 1876.

HAYES and WHEELER.

The Sixth National Convention of the Republican party was called to order by ex-Gov. Edwin D. Morgan of New York, chairman of the Republican National Committee, at Cincinnati, Ohio, at 12 m., June 14, 1876, who, on behalf of said committee, announced the nomination of Theodore M. Pomeroy of New York as temporary presiding officer of the convention. On motion, Irving M. Bean of Wisconsin and Gen. H. H. Bingham of Pennsylvania were elected temporary secretaries. A resolution was then adopted for a call of the roll of states and territories, the chairman of each delegation to announce the names of the persons selected to serve on the following-named committees, viz: Credentials; Permanent Organization; Rules and Order of Business, and Resolutions. The roll was then called and the various committees chosen. Speeches were then made by Gen. John A. Logan, ex-Gov. Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut, ex-Gov. E. F. Noyes of Ohio, Rev. Henry Highland Garnett of New York, William A. Howard of Michigan, and Frederick Douglass of New York, after which Mr. George B. Loring of Massachusetts, from the Committee on Permanent Organization, reported the name of Edward McPherson of Pennsylvania for president, and Irving M. Bean of Wisconsin for secretary, with a vice-president and assistant secretary from each state and territory. The report was adopted and the convention adjourned until 10 o'clock a. m., June 15.

SECOND DAY—JUNE 15, 1876.

Mr. John Cessna of Pennsylvania, from the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, submitted the following report establishing rules and order of business:

Rule 1. Upon all subjects before the convention the states shall be called in alphabetical order, and next the territories and District of Columbia.

Rule 2. Each State shall be entitled to double the number of its Senators and Representatives in Congress according to the late apportionment, and each territory and the District of Columbia shall be entitled to two votes. The votes of each delegation shall be reported by its chairman.

Rule 3. The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions is acted upon, and the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions shall be disposed of before the convention proceeds to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President.

Rule 4. In making the nominations for President and Vice-President, in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with when it shall appear that any candidate has received the majority of the votes cast.

The president of the convention shall announce the question to be, "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?" but, if no candidate shall have received a majority of the votes, the chair shall direct the vote to be again taken, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast; and when any state has announced its vote it shall so stand until the ballot is announced, unless in case of numerical error.

Rule 5. When a majority of the delegates of any two states shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by states, territories, and the District of Columbia—the secretary calling the roll of the states and territories in the order heretofore stated, and the District of Columbia.

Rule 6. In the record of the votes by states the vote of each state, territory, and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the chairman; and in case the votes of any state, territory, or the District of Columbia shall be divided, the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate or for or against any proposition.

Rule 7. When the previous question shall be demanded by the majority of the delegates from any state, and the demand seconded by two or more states, and the call sustained by a majority of the convention, the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the rules of the House of Representatives in similar cases.

Rule 8. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the convention, except that delegates presenting the name of a candidate shall be allowed ten minutes in presenting the name of such candidates.

Rule 9. The rules of the House of Representatives shall be the rules of this convention, so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the foregoing rules.

Rule 10. A Republican national committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each state, territory, and district represented in convention. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each state, territory, and district shall name, through their chairman, a person to act as a member of such committee.

After debate the report was adopted. Mr. John T. Ensor of Maryland, chairman of the Committee on Credentials, made a report that full delegations were present from all the states and territories, with the exception of the states of Nevada and North Carolina, and recommending that in those cases the delegates present be authorized to cast the full vote of their respective states. He also reported that the only contests were from the states of Alabama and Florida, and the District of Columbia, and submitted the names of the delegates agreed upon by the committee as entitled to seats; also recommending that the twenty-two delegates from Arkansas present be admitted to seats. Mr. Charles N. Harris of Nevada submitted a minority report signed by himself and Messrs. James Atkins of Georgia, Stephen A. Swails of South Carolina, A. Steele of Indiana, A. G. Sharp of Tennessee, M. A. Rosenblatt of Missouri, C. E. Nash of Louisiana, James Heaton of North Carolina, Matthew S. Quay of Pennsylvania, Thos. C. Platt of New York, and James P. Newcomb of Texas. The report of the committee, except as to Alabama, was adopted, and after debate the minority report, proposing to seat the delegation headed by George E. Spencer, was re-

jected on a roll-call by yeas 354, nays 375, and the majority report was then adopted without division.

Ex-Gov. Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, then reported the following platform:

When, in the economy of Providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of government of the people, by the people, and for the people was to be demonstrated, the Republican party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride. Incited by their memories and with high aims for the good of our country and mankind, and looking to the future with unfaltering courage, hope and purpose, we, the representatives of the party, in national convention assembled, make the following declaration of principles:

1. The United States of America is a nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the national and state governments, under their respective constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured at home and protected abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

2. The Republican party has preserved these governments to the hundredth anniversary of the nation's birth, and they are now embodiments of the great truths spoken at its cradle, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that for the attainment of these ends governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Until these truths are cheerfully obeyed, and, if need be, vigorously enforced, the work of the Republican party is unfinished.

3. The permanent pacification of the Southern section of the Union and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all of their rights are duties to which the Republican party is sacredly pledged. The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent constitutional amendments is vested by these amendments in the Congress of the United States; and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights. To this end we imperatively demand a Congress and chief executive whose courage and fidelity to those duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall.

4. In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant the national government assumed to remove any doubts of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and solemnly pledged its faith "to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals, and national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

5. Under the constitution, the President and heads of departments are to make nominations for office, the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that Senators and Representatives, who may be judges and accusers, should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule in appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity, and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to efficiency of the public service and the right of all citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country.

6. We rejoice in the quickened conscience of the people concerning political affairs. We will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be speedy, thorough, and unsparing.

7. The public school system of the several states is the bulwark of the American republic; and, with a view to its security and permanence, we recommend an amendment to the constitution of the United States, forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institution under sectarian control.

8. The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

9. We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

10. It is the imperative duty of the government so to modify existing treaties with European governments that the same protection shall be afforded to the adopted American citizen that is given to the native-born; and all necessary laws should be passed to protect emigrants, in the absence of power in the states for that purpose.

11. It is the immediate duty of Congress fully to investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians upon the moral and material interests of the country.

12. The Republican party recognizes with approval the substantial advances recently made toward the establishment of equal rights for women, by the many important amendments effected by Republican legislatures in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities, and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights, privileges, and immunities should be treated with respectful consideration.

13. The constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States for their government, and in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit and extirpate in the territories that relic of barbarism—polygamy; and we demand such legislation as shall secure this end, and the supremacy of American institutions in all of the territories.

14. The pledges which the nation has given to her soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled, and a grateful people will always hold those who imperiled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance.

15. We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and tendencies. We therefore note with deep solicitude that the Democratic party counts, as its chief hope of success, on the electoral vote of a united South, secured through the efforts of those who were recently arrayed against the nation; and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth that a success thus achieved would reopen sectional strife and imperil national honor and human rights.

16. We charge the Democratic party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason; with making its control of the House of Representatives the triumph and opportunity of the nation's recent foes; with reasserting and applauding in the national capital the sentiments of unrepentant rebellion; with sending Union soldiers to the rear, and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front; with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the government; with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial questions; with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagement and obstruction of investigation; with proving itself, through the period of its ascendancy in the lower house of Congress, utterly incompetent to administer the government; and we warn the country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recreant, and incapable.

17. The national administration merits commendation for its honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs, and President Grant deserves the continued hearty gratitude of the American people for his patriotism and his eminent services in war and in peace.

Edward L. Pierce of Massachusetts moved to strike out the eleventh resolution, which motion, after debate, was rejected upon a roll-call by states by yeas 215, nays 532. The delegations from the states of California, Colorado, Florida, Kansas, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, Virginia, and Wisconsin, and the territories (except Montana) voting solidly in the negative. The eleventh resolution was then agreed to. Edmund J. Davis of Texas submitted a minority report from the Committee on Resolutions (signed by himself) proposing to strike out the fourth resolution and insert in lieu thereof the following:

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to provide for carrying out the act known as the resumption act of Congress, to the end that the resumption of specie payments may not be longer delayed.

The substitute was rejected without division, the fourth resolution agreed to, and the platform adopted as reported.

The roll of states was then called for the nomination of candidates for President. When Connecticut was reached Stephen W. Kellogg of that state presented the name of Marshall Jewell; Richard W. Thompson of Indiana, that of Oliver P. Morton; John M. Harlan of Kentucky, that of Benjamin H. Bristow; Robert G. Ingersoll of Illinois, that of James G. Blaine; Stewart L. Woodford of New York, that of Roscoe Conkling; Edward F. Noyes of Ohio, that of Rutherford B. Hayes, and Linn Bartholomew of Pennsylvania, that of John F. Hartranft. The convention then adjourned.

On the third day (Friday, June 16, 1876) the convention proceeded to ballot for a candidate for President, with the following result:

States.	No. of delegates.	Blaine.	Morton.	Bristow.	Conkling.	Hayes.
Alabama	20	10		7		2
Arkansas	12		12			
California	12	9		2	1	
Colorado	6	6				
Connecticut	12			2		
Delaware	6	6				
Florida	8	1	4		3	
Georgia	22	5	6	3	8	
Illinois	42	38		3		1
Indiana	30		30			
Iowa	22	22				
Kansas	10	10				
Kentucky	24			24		
Louisiana	16	2	14			
Maine	14	14				
Maryland	16	16				
Massachusetts	26	6		17		
Michigan	22	8		9	1	4
Minnesota	10	10				
Mississippi	16		11	3	1	
Missouri	30	14	12	2	1	1
Nebraska	6	6				
Nevada	6			3	2	1
New Hampshire	10	7		3		
New Jersey	18	13				5
New York	70			1	69	
North Carolina	20	9	2	1	7	
Ohio	44					44
Oregon	6	6				
Pennsylvania	58					
Rhode Island	8	2		6		
South Carolina	14		13	1		
Texas	16	2	5	6	3	
Tennessee	24	4	10	10		
Vermont	10	1		8		1
Virginia	22	16	3		3	
West Virginia	10	8				2
Wisconsin	20	20				
Territories	18	2		2		
	756	285	124	113	99	61

Alabama cast 1 vote and Connecticut 10 votes for Marshal Jewell of Connecticut; Massachusetts cast 3 votes for William A. Wheeler of New York, and Pennsylvania 58 votes for John F. Hartranft of that state. During the roll-call an effort was made to change the announcement of the vote of Mississippi. The chair held that under rule 4, no change could be made except to correct an error in such announcement, and that the vote of a delegate who had come in after the vote had been given could not be received.

The result of the ballot was announced as follows:

Total number of votes	756
Necessary to a choice	379
James G. Blaine	285
Oliver P. Morton	124
Benjamin H. Bristow	113
Roscoe Conkling	99
Rutherford B. Hayes	61
John F. Hartranft	58
Marshall Jewell	11
William A. Wheeler	3

The convention then proceeded to take a second ballot. When the state of Pennsylvania was called, its vote was announced as 58 for John F. Hartranft. The question of order was then raised by Mr. J. Smith Futhey of Chester, that the announcement was incorrect, as himself and three colleagues desired to cast their votes for James G. Blaine. The chair ruled that it was the right of each and every member of the convention to vote his sentiments in the convention. Mr. McCormick of Pennsylvania appealed from the decision, and the question being put, the chair was sustained. The roll-call was then completed, at the end of which Mr. J. M. Thornburg of Tennessee moved to reconsider the vote sustaining the decision of the chair, and the roll being called thereon the vote was yeas 381, nays 359. So the vote was reconsidered, and after further debate the roll was again called on the question of sustaining the decision of the chair, resulting, yeas 395, nays 353. The chair, in announcing the result, stated that the convention, in sustaining his decision, had decided that it was the right of every individual member to vote his individual sentiments, and announced the result of the ballot as follows: Blaine, 296; Morton, 120; Conkling, 93; Bristow, 114; Hayes, 64; Hartranft, 63; Washburne, 1; Wheeler, 3.

A third ballot was then taken, resulting: Blaine, 293; Bristow, 121; Conkling, 90; Hartranft, 68; Hayes, 67; Morton, 113; Wheeler, 2; Washburne, 1.

The fourth ballot being taken, resulted: Blaine, 292; Bristow, 126; Conkling, 84; Hartranft, 71; Hayes, 68; Morton, 108; Wheeler, 2; Washburne, 3.

The fifth ballot resulted: Blaine, 286; Bristow, 114; Conkling, 82; Hartranft, 69: Hayes, 104; Morton, 95; Wheeler, 2; Washburne, 3.

The sixth ballot resulted: Blaine, 308; Bristow, 111; Conkling, 81; Hartranft, 50; Hayes, 113; Morton, 85; Washburne, 4; Wheeler, 2.

The secretary then proceeded to call the roll on the seventh ballot. When Indiana was called, Mr. Will Cumback withdrew the name of Oliver P. Morton and cast 25 votes for Rutherford B. Hayes and 5 votes for Benjamin H. Bristow.

When Kentucky was called, Mr. Harlan withdrew the name of Benjamin H. Bristow and cast the entire vote of Kentucky for Mr. Hayes. Mr. Cumback of Indiana thereupon cast the 5 votes from that state previously given to Mr. Bristow for Mr. Hayes. A point of order that a change could not be made during a roll-call was sustained. Mr. Theodore M. Pomeroy of New York announced that that delegation cast 61 votes for Rutherford B. Hayes and 9 votes for James G. Blaine. Mr. J. Don. Cameron of Pennsylvania withdrew the name of John F. Hartranft and cast 28 votes for Mr. Hayes and 30 votes for Mr. Blaine, the result being as follows:

States.	*Hayes.*	*Blaine.*
Alabama	.....	17
Arkansas	1	11
California	6	6
Colorado	.....	6
Connecticut	3	2
Delaware	.....	6
Florida	.....	8
Georgia	7	14
Illinois	2	35
Indiana	25	.....
Iowa	.....	22
Kansas	.....	10
Kentucky	24	.....
Louisiana	2	14
Maine	.....	14
Maryland	.....	16
Massachusetts	21	5
Michigan	22	.....
Minnesota	1	9
Mississippi	16	.....
Missouri	10	20
Nebraska	.....	6
Nevada	6	.....
New Hampshire	3	7
New Jersey	6	12
New York	61	9
North Carolina	20	.....
Ohio	44	.....
Oregon	.....	6
Pennsylvania	28	30
Rhode Island	6	2
South Carolina	7	7
Tennessee	18	6
Texas	15	1

States.	*Hayes.*	*Blaine.*
Vermont	10	.....
Virginia	8	14
West Virginia	4	6
Wisconsin	4	16
Territories	14	4
Total	384	351

When the name of Mr. Bristow was withdrawn by Mr. Harlan of Kentucky, 21 votes had been cast for him, as follows, viz : Alabama, 3 ; Connecticut, 7 ; Georgia, 1 ; Illinois, 5, and Indiana, 5.

The delegates from the territories cast their votes for Mr. Blaine, excepting those from Montana and Wyoming, which were cast for Mr. Hayes.

The chair having announced the result and stated the question to be on making the nomination unanimous, Mr. William P. Frye of Maine seconded that motion and it was unanimously carried.

Nominations for Vice-President were then made as follows : William A. Wheeler of New York, by Mr. Luke P. Poland of Vermont ; Stewart L. Woodford of New York, by Mr. Thomas C. Platt of New York ; Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut, by Mr. John M. Harlan of Kentucky ; Frederick T. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, by Mr. Henry C. Pitney of New Jersey ; Marshall Jewell of Connecticut, by Mr. S. H. Russell of Texas. Mr. Woodford of New York withdrew his name and the roll was called. When the state of South Carolina was called (which cast 12 votes for Mr. Wheeler) the vote stood as follows : Wheeler, 366 ; Frelinghuysen, 89 ; Jewell, 86 ; Woodford, 70 ; and Hawley, 25. Mr. Kellogg, by consent, withdrew the name of Mr. Jewell and moved to suspend the rules so as to nominate Mr. Wheeler of New York by acclamation, which motion was carried, and Mr. Wheeler was declared by the chair the nominee for Vice-President. After adding an additional resolution (indorsing the nominees) to the platform and appointing a National Committee and a committee of one from each state to wait upon the candidates and give them formal notice of their nomination, the convention adjourned.

Zachariah Chandler of Michigan and R. C. McCormick of Arizona were elected, respectively, chairman and secretary of the National Committee and also of the Executive Committee.

On May 17 the Prohibition party held a convention at Cleveland Ohio, and nominated Green Clay Smith of Kentucky for President, and G. T. Stewart of Ohio for Vice-President.

On May 18 the Greenback party held a convention at Indian-

apolis and nominated Peter Cooper of New York for President, and Samuel F. Cory of Ohio for Vice-President.

On June 27 the Democratic convention met in St. Louis, and on the 29th nominated Samuel J. Tilden of New York for President, and Thomas A Hendricks of Indiana for Vice-President.

The result of the popular and electoral votes were as follows:

States.	Popular.		Electoral.	
	S. J. Tilden, Dem.	R. B. Hayes, Rep.	S. J. Tilden, Dem.	R. B. Hayes, Rep.
Alabama	102,002	68,230	10	
Arkansas	58,071	38,669	6	
California	75,845	78,614		6
*Colorado				3
Connecticut	61,934	59,034	6	
Delaware	13,381	10,752	3	
†Florida	22,923	23,849		4
Georgia	130,088	50,446	11	
Illinois	258,601	278,232		21
Indiana	213,526	208,011	15	
Iowa	112,099	171,327		11
Kansas	37,902	78,322		5
Kentucky	159,690	97,156	12	
†Louisiana	70,636	75,135		8
Maine	49,823	66,300		7
Maryland	91,780	71,981	8	
Massachusetts	108,777	150,063		13
Michigan	141,095	166,534		11
Minnesota	48,799	72,962		5
Mississippi	112,173	52,605	8	
Missouri	203,077	145,029	15	
Nebraska	17,554	31,916		3
Nevada	9,308	10,383		3
New Hampshire	38,509	41,539		5
New Jersey	115,962	103,517	9	
New York	521,949	489,207	35	
North Carolina	125,427	108,417	10	
Ohio	323,182	330,698		22
†Oregon	14,149	15,206		3
Pennsylvania	366,157	384,122		29
Rhode Island	10,712	15,787		4
†South Carolina	90,906	91,870		7
Tennessee	133,166	89,566	12	
Texas	104,755	44,800	8	
Vermont	20,254	44,092		5
Virginia	139,670	95,558	11	
West Virginia	56,455	42,698	5	
Wisconsin	123,927	130,668		10
Total	4,284,265	4,033,295	184	185

Mr. Cooper received 81,737 votes, of which Indiana cast 17,233, and Mr. Smith 9,522.

* Electors chosen by legislature.

† Double returns received.

From Florida, 2 sets of certificates were received; from Louisiana, 3; from Oregon, 2, and from South Carolina, 2. They were referred to the electoral commission, formed under the act of January 29, 1877, and the commission decided in favor of counting the electoral vote as given in the foregoing table. As a matter of interest and pertinent to that election, it may be stated that said act provided that the commission should consist of five senators, five representatives, and five justices of the Supreme Court, the Senators and Representatives to be chosen, respectively, by the Senate and the House of Representatives. The Senate chose Senators George F. Edmunds of Vermont, Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, and Frederick T. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, Republicans, and Allen G. Thurman of Ohio and Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware, Democrats. The House of Representatives chose Messrs. Henry B. Payne of Ohio, Eppa Hunton of Virginia, and Josiah G. Abbott of Massachusetts, Democrats, and James A. Garfield of Ohio and George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, Republicans. The four justices of the Supreme Court designated by the act were Justices Nathan Clifford, William Strong, Samuel F. Miller, and Stephen J. Field. Messrs. Clifford and Field were Democrats, and Strong and Miller, Republicans, and they selected Justice Joseph Bradley, Republican, as the fifth member of the commission on the part of the Supreme Court.

By the act, double returns, and all returns to which objections should be made, were to be referred to the commission, whose decision was to be final unless reversed by the vote of both houses. The general rule held by the commission was that it was only empowered to canvass electoral votes, not popular votes, and to decide whether the governor had certified those electors who had been declared elected by the canvassing authority of the state. It thus ascertained that in Louisiana the governor had certified the legitimate electors, while in Oregon the governor had not. In all these cases the House voted to reject and the Senate to sustain the commission's decision, and the decision was therefore sustained in favor of the Republican electors. In the case of South Carolina and in those of electors objected to as federal officeholders, the commission decided in favor of the Republican electors, and the decision was not reversed by concurrent vote of the two houses of Congress. All the 20 doubtful votes (Florida 4, Louisiana 8, Oregon 1, and South Carolina 7) thus fell to the Republican candidates, and the result was declared to be 185 votes for Hayes and Wheeler, and 184 votes for Tilden and Hendricks.

In the case of the South Carolina contest, the commission voted

unanimously that the Tilden electors were not the true electors from that state, and, by a vote of 8 to 7, that the Hayes electors were.

The count proceeded under the law in the alphabetical order of states, commencing March 1, 1877, and a final vote was not reached until March 2, at 4 o'clock a. m., when the summing up of the votes was read by Mr. William B. Allison of Iowa, one of the tellers on the part of the Senate, and the result announced by Senator Thomas W. Ferry of Michigan, President *pro tempore* of the Senate.

SEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, JUNE 2–8, 1880.

GARFIELD and ARTHUR.

The Seventh National Convention of the Republican party was called to order in Exhibition Hall, Chicago, at 12 o'clock m., Wednesday, June 2, 1880, by the Hon. J. Donald Cameron, chairman of the Republican National Committee, who stated that he had been instructed to place in nomination as temporary chairman the Hon. George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, which nomination was unanimously agreed to; John H. Roberts of Illinois and Christopher L. Magee of Pennsylvania being made temporary secretaries. A resolution submitted by Senator Eugene Hale of Maine, for a call of the roll, on which the chairman of each delegation should announce the names of persons to serve on the committee on Permanent Organization, Rules and Order of Busines, Credentials and Resolutions, was adopted, and those committees formed, after which, at 3 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m., the convention adjourned until 11 o'clock the following morning.

SECOND DAY—THURSDAY, JUNE 3, 1880.

A motion made by Senator Roscoe Conkling for a recess was rejected, after which Mr. Henry R. Pierson of New York, from the Committee on Permanent Organization, submitted a report proposing that the temporary organization be made permanent, with a vice-president and assistant secretary from each state and territory, which report was adopted. The convention, on motion of Representative William P. Frye of Maine, at 1 p. m. took a recess until 5 p. m.

After the recess, Mr. David B. Henderson of Iowa moved that the Committee on Rules be directed to report at once, to which Mr. George H. Sharpe of New York offered a substitute directing the Committee on Credentials to report. The substitute was rejected on a roll-call by yeas 318, nays 406, after which the original resolution was laid on the table. The convention met at 7 o'clock and after thirty minutes' session adjourned until the following morning at 10 o'clock.

Friday—June 4, 1880, 10 A. M.

Mr. Conkling submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, As the sense of this convention, that every member of it is bound in honor to support its nominee, whoever that nominee may be; and that no man shall hold a seat here who is not ready to so agree.

The roll of states was called, resulting, yeas 716, nays 3 (the three negative votes being cast by West Virginia delegates).

Mr. Conkling thereupon offered another resolution, declaring that the delegates who had voted that they would not abide the action of the convention, do not deserve, and have forfeited their votes in the convention, which resolution he subsequently withdrew, after a spirited debate, it being apparent that the convention would table it, the three West Virginia delegates having stated that they expected to support the nominees but were opposed to the resolution on principle. Mr. William J. Sewell of New Jersey moved that the Committee on Rules be instructed to report, which motion was agreed to, and Mr. James A. Garfield of Ohio submitted the following rules and order of business:

Rule 1. The convention shall consist of a number of delegates from each state equal to double the number of its senators and representatives in Congress, and two delegates from each territory, and two from the District of Columbia.

Rule 2. The rules of the House of Representatives shall be the rules of the convention so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the following rules.

Rule 3. When the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the delegates from any state, and the demand seconded by two or more states, and the call sustained by a majority of the convention, the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the rules of the House of Representatives in similar cases.

Rule 4. Upon all subjects before the convention the states shall be called in alphabetical order, and next the territories and District of Columbia.

Rule 5. The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Resolutions is acted upon, and the report of the Committee on Resolutions shall be disposed of before the convention proceeds to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President.

Rule 6. When a majority of the delegates of any two states shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by states, territories, and the District of Columbia, the secretary calling the roll of the states and territories and the District of Columbia in the order heretofore stated.

Rule 7. In making the nominations for President and Vice-President, in no case shall the call of the roll be dispensed with. When it shall appear that any candidate has received a majority of the votes cast the president of the convention shall announce the question to be: "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?" But if no candidate shall have received a majority of the votes the chair shall direct the vote to be again taken, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast; and when any state has announced its vote it shall so stand until the ballot is announced, unless in case of numerical error.

Rule 8. In the record of the votes by states the vote of each state, territory, and District of Columbia shall be announced by the chairman; and in case the vote of any state, territory, or District of Columbia shall be divided, the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate, or for or against any proposition; but if exception is taken by any delegate to the correctness of such announcement by the chairman of his delegation, the president of the convention shall direct the roll of members of such delegation to be called, and the result shall be recorded in accordance with the votes individually given.

Rule 9. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the convention, except that delegates presenting the name of a candidate shall be allowed ten minutes in presenting the name of such candidate.

Rule 10. A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each state, territory, and the District of Columbia represented in this convention. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each state, territory, and the District of Columbia shall name, through their chairman, a person to act as member of such committee.

Rule 11. All resolutions relating to the platform shall be referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

Mr. George H. Sharpe of New York submitted a minority report signed by himself and Messrs. J. A. Thomasson of Alabama, J. H. Johnson of Arkansas, James Dean of Florida, W. Godfrey Hunter of Kentucky, H. C. Carter of Mississippi, Thomas B. Rodgers of Missouri, J. M. Cordell of Tennessee, W. R. Watkins of Virginia, A. W. Metcalf of Illinois, and M. M. Megrue of Colorado, submitting the following as a substitute for proposed rule 8:

In the record of votes by states, the vote of each state, territory, and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the chairman; and in case the votes of any state, territory, or the District of Columbia shall be divided, the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate, or for or against any proposition.

The report was laid over to receive the report of the Committee on Credentials made by Representative Omar D. Conger of Michigan. The committee made a long report on the contests from Louisiana, Alabama, Illinois, Kansas, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Utah. Mr. Conger stated that there were some fifty odd cases of contested delegates and alternates on which the committee had heard testimony, arguments, &c., and over fifty other points or questions submitted, requiring consideration and action. The cases were reported in the order of states above given.

In the case of the state of Louisiana, the committee recommended the admission of the delegation, with their alternates headed by Henry C. Warmouth, and the exclusion of the delegation headed by Taylor Beattie. The Beattie delegates, being in a minority, had bolted the regular convention, which action the committee found was without adequate cause.

In the first Alabama case, the committee recommended that James T. Rapier be admitted as delegate from the Fourth Congressional district of that state. The facts as stated showed that Rapier had been duly elected; that the state convention passed a resolution directing the vote of the state to be cast as a unit for General Grant, and requiring each delegate to pledge himself to obey said instructions. Mr. Rapier could not be found at the time, and the president of the convention was instructed to withhold his credentials unless he should, within twenty-four hours, give the required pledge, which Mr. Rapier refused to do.

In the second Alabama case, the committee recommended that William H. Smith and Willard Warner be admitted as delegates from the Seventh Congressional district in place of Arthur Bingham and R. A. Moseley. The facts in the case were substantially the same as in the preceding case of Rapier. Mr. Warner was called on by the chairman of the state convention to rise and pledge himself to vote for General Grant. He refused to do so, stating that he was authorized to refuse for Mr. Smith, and the convention undertook to revoke their election and substitute Bingham and Moseley in their places.

[The committee in this action were governed by the decision of the preceding national convention that it was the right of every individual member of the convention to vote his sentiments.]

In the Illinois cases, the committee reported against the sitting members and in favor of the following persons :

First Congressional district, William J. Campbell and Elbridge G. Keith ;

Third district, Washington Hesing and Elliott Anthony ;

Fourth district, C. W. Marsh and Lot B. Smith ;

Fifth district, Robert E. Logan and W. H. Holcombe ;

Sixth district, James K. Edsall and John P. Hand ;

Ninth district, John A. Gray and W. Selden Gale ;

Tenth district, Hen. Tubbs and John Fletcher ;

Thirteenth district, F. Law and E. D. Blenn ; and,

Seventeenth district, William E. Kneffner and E. Guelich.

The committee reported that a state convention was held at Springfield, Illinois, on May 10, to elect delegates to the national convention. During the convention the delegates from each of the foregoing congressional districts assembled and organized district conventions and elected two delegates (and two alternates) to the Chicago convention by a clear majority of all the delegates elected to the state convention in each of said districts, as shown by the credentials accompanying the report. The state convention, by means of a committee of one from each congressional district, selected, and afterwards assumed to elect, forty-two delegates to the national convention, including the sitting members from the foregoing-named districts, the delegates from each of which filed in the state convention protests against said elections by the state convention.

The committee reported against the validity of the contest in the second district of Illinois of the seats of the sitting members, A. M. Wright and R. S. Tuthill, and also against the objections to the seats of the four delegates-at-large from Illinois, viz : John A. Logan, Emory Storrs, Green B. Raum, and David T. Littler.

In the Kansas contests the committee recommended the admission as delegates from the second district Messrs. T. C. Leons and S. A. Day, and from the third district Thomas J. Anderson and John M. Steele, and that the ten present sitting members be allowed to retain their seats and cast six votes. The committee reported that the state convention met at Topeka on March 31, and that all the sitting members were elected by one resolution. During the convention district conventions were notified by the chairman, and in the second and third districts the contestants were elected in such districts at the time and places mentioned and certified, and the committee found that they were the choice of a majority of the delegates in said districts.

In the ninth Pennsylvania district the committee reported against the validity of the contest made by A. Kline, E. K. Martin, and in the nineteenth Pennsylvania district against the contestants D. H. McKinney and H. S. McNair. In the West Virginia contest from the Third Congressional district the committee recommended that the sitting members, Z. D. Ramsdell and S. A. Martin, be allowed to retain their seats. These delegates were contested by J. W. Davis and John H. Rassler on the ground that they were duly elected by the district subconvention, but the committee did not find that fact proven.

A long argument was then made and precedents cited in favor of the principle of Congressional district representation.

In respect to the Utah contest, the committee recommended that the sitting delegates and alternates be allowed to retain their seats.

Powell Clayton of Arkansas then submitted the minority report, which, in the Illinois case, was signed by B. F. Tracy of New York. Powell Clayton of Arkansas, Webster Flanagan of Texas, Green B. Raum of Illinois, William J. Hooper of Maryland, Isaac Heyman of Alabama, George T. Clark of Colorado, Richard P. Stoll of Kentucky, H. E. Havens of Missouri, J. M. Thornburgh of Tennessee, John Cessna of Pennsylvania, Charles C. Tompkins of Virginia, William N. Taft of South Carolina, and Joseph E. Lee of Florida.

In the Utah case the following members signed the minority report on the ground that the sitting delegates were appointed by a territorial executive committee selected four years previous, and whose duty it was to have called a territorial convention, while the contestants were appointed by a representative convention called by a large number of the leading Republicans, in which the Republican voters of the territory were fully and fairly represented, viz: Messrs. Tracy, Flanagan, Clayton, Havens, Raum, Lee, and Thornburgh.

Mr. C. R. Codman of Massachusetts concurred with the minority in the case of Utah only.

The following members signed a minority report as to the contest in West Virginia, viz: Messrs. Clayton, Tompkins, Flanagan, Lee, Stoll, Cessna, Hooper, Thornburgh, Clark, and Raum. The ground assigned was that it stood on the same ground as to the contests in Alabama, Illinois, and Kansas, and if the majority report in those States was adopted, then the contestants from West Virginia should be admitted as delegates instead of the sitting members.

Mr. Sharpe of New York moved to amend the report by striking out so much as related to the four delegates at large from Illinois, which was adopted after debate.

So much of the report as to which the committee was unanimous was then adopted. The Alabama contest was then taken up, and, after debate, the question was put on the motion to substitute the minority for the majority report, and it was rejected on a roll-call by yeas 306, nays 449. The majority report was then adopted without division.

When the vote of Alabama was announced, Mr. Allen Alexander of that state raised the question of order that the delegates whose seats were contested had not the right to vote.

The chair (Senator Hoar) sustained the point of order and held that as the vote reported from Alabama included the votes of the sitting members whose seats were in contest, they were not at liberty to vote. The chair reserved the determination of the question until the conclusion of the roll-call. It was then stated by Mr. George Turner of Alabama that he was authorized by the delegates present and requested by the alternates of the sitting members to cast their votes, and that the votes of the alternates were not in question. Upon this statement the chair decided that the vote should stand as reported.

The Illinois contests were then taken up and after a limitation of debate to two hours Mr. Clayton moved to substitute the report of the minority so far as it related to the first district for the majority report, which motion was rejected by yeas 353, nays 387; the Kansas delegation not voting, for the reason stated by Mr. Preston B. Plumb, that the same question would come up in regard to that delegation. The majority report as to that district was then adopted by yeas 384, nays 356. The remaining portion of the majority report as to Illinois was then adopted.

The Kansas contest was then taken up and the report agreed to by yeas 476, nays 184; the Kansas delegation, by agreement, dividing

evenly. The West Virginia contest was then taken up and the report of the minority adopted as a substitute for the majority report by yeas 417, nays 330. The Utah contest was then taken up and the minority report adopted by yeas 426, nays 312. The report of the Committee on Rules was then taken up, when Mr. George H. Sharpe of New York submitted the following resolution as a substitute for the report of the committee, viz:

Resolved, That this convention will proceed immediately to ballot for candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, and that one speech of fifteen minutes be allowed for the presentation of each candidate, and ten minutes for one speech to second each nomination, and at the end thereof that the roll of states, territories, and the District of Columbia be called.

Mr. Garfield made the point or order that the report of the Committee on Rules, made under order of the convention, was the only thing in order, and the resolution submitted was not a substitute for rules but was about other business.

The chair overruled the point of order on the ground that the Committee on Rules had reported, for the government of a convention whose functions would expire when its candidates were nominated, a series of rules, one of which provides for the method of procedure in that nomination, the others providing other matters for the government of the convention. The chair being of opinion that a substitute which provides for the same thing and nothing else, viz., the proceeding to nominate candidates, and for the method of such proceeding, making no provision for any other subject, therefore held the substitute to be in order.

The roll was then called and the resolution (substitute) rejected by yeas 276, nays 479. Mr. George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts submitted an amendment to add to rule 10 the following (modified by an amendment by Mr. Benjamin Butterworth of Ohio), which was adopted, viz:

Said committee shall, within the next twelve months, prescribe a method or methods for the election of delegates to the national convention to be held in 1884; announce the same to the country, and issue a call for that convention in conformity therewith: *Provided*, That such methods or rules shall include and secure to the several Congressional districts in the United States the right to elect their own delegates to the national convention.

Mr. Edwards Pierrepont of New York then submitted the following report of the Committee on Resolutions, viz:

The Republican party, in national convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the federal government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States this brief report of its administration:

It suppressed a rebellion which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert the national authority. It reconstructed the Union of the states, with freedom instead of slavery as its corner-stone. It transformed 4,000,000 human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens. It relieved Congress from the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist. It has

raised the value of our paper currency from 38 per cent. to the par of gold. It has restored upon a solid basis payment in coin for all the national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country. It has lifted the credit of the nation from the point where 6 per cent. bonds sold at 86 to that where 4 per cent. bonds are eagerly sought at a premium. Under its administration, railways have increased from 31,000 miles in 1860 to more than 82,000 in 1879. Our foreign trade has increased from $700,000,000 to $1,150,000,000 in the same time, and our exports, which were $20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860, were $264,000,000 more than our imports in 1879. Without resorting to loans, it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of government, besides the accruing interest on the public debt, and disbursed annually more than $30,000,000 for soldiers' pensions. It has paid $888,000,000 of the public debt, and by refunding the balance at lower rates has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly $150,000,000 to less than $89,000,000. All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed. Upon this record the Republican party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people, and this convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts:

1. We affirm that the work of the Republican party for the last twenty-one years has been such as to commend it to the favor of the nation; that the fruits of the costly victories which we have achieved through immense difficulties should be preserved; that the peace regained should be cherished; that the Union should be perpetuated, and that liberties secured to this generation should be transmitted undiminished to future generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pension promises should be paid; that the debt so much reduced should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted, and that the commerce, already increasing, should be steadily encouraged.

2. The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract. Out of confederated states it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied the nation, while others are denied the states, but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the national and not by the state tribunal.

3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several states, but it is the duty of the national government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional power. The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate intelligence of the several states, and the destiny of the nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one state, but by the aggregate genius of all.

4. The Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting the establishment of religion, but it is idle to hope that the nation can be protected against influence of sectarianism while each state is exposed to its domination. We therefore recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition on the legislature of each State, and to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

5. We reaffirm the belief, avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grant of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that slavery having perished in the states, its twin barbarity, polygamy, must die in the territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; that we deem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our sea-coast and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease; that the obligations of the republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of fifteen years since their final victory. To do them honor is, and shall forever be, the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

6. Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and the treaty-making power, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of the Chinese as a matter of great concernment, under the exercise of both these powers, would limit and restrict that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane, and reasonable laws and treaties as will produce that result.

7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the earlier career of Rutherford B. Hayes in peace and war, and which guided the thought of our immediate predecessors to him for a presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as chief executive, and that history will accord to his administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just, and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his vetoes between the people and attempted partisan laws.

8. We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust of office and patronage; that, to obtain possession of the national government and control of the place, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of suffrage and have devised fraudulent ballots and invented fraudulent certifications of returns; have labored to unseat lawfully elected members of Congress to secure at all hazards a majority of the states in the House of Representatives; have endeavored to occupy by force and fraud the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, rescued by the courage and action of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriation bills, upon whose passage the very movement of the government depended; have crushed the rights of the individual; have advocated the principles and sought the favor of rebellion against the nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories of the war, and to overcome its inestimably valuable results of nationality, personal freedom, and individual equality. The equal, steady, and complete enforcement of laws, and the protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution, are the first duties of the nation. The dangers of a solid South can only be averted by a faithful performance of every promise which the nation has made to its citizens. The execution of the laws, and the punishment of all those who violate them, are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured and genuine prosperity established throughout the South. Whatever promises the nation makes the nation must perform. A nation cannot safely relegate this duty to the states. The solid South must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all honest opinions must there find true expression. To this end the honest voter must be protected against terrorism, violence, or fraud. And we affirm it to be the duty and purpose of the Republican party to use all legitimate means to restore all states of this Union to the most perfect harmony that may be possible. And we submit to the practical, sensible people of the United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country at this time to surrender the administration of the national government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy, under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence, and hope.

Mr. James M. Barker of Massachusetts submitted the following amendment as an additional resolution:

The Republican party, adhering to the principle affirmed by its last national convention, of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical, and complete. To this end it demands the co-operation of the legislative with the executive department of the government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to and the report as amended adopted.

A recess (at 5.25 o'clock p. m.) was then taken until 7 p. m. After the recess the roll of states was called and the national committee selected, and on motion of Mr. Wm. P. Frye of Maine the roll of states was called in alphabetical order for nominations for a candidate for President. Names of candidates were then presented, as follows: James G. Blaine of Maine, by James F. Joy of Michigan; William Windom of Minnesota, by E. F. Drake of that state; Ulysses S. Grant, "from Appomattox and its famous apple tree," by Roscoe Conkling of New York; John Sherman of Ohio, by James A. Garfield of that state; George F. Edmunds of Vermont, by Frederick Billings of that state; Elihu B. Washburne of Illinois, by J. B. Cassady of Wisconsin. The nomination of Mr. Blaine was seconded by Messrs. F. M. Pixley of California, Frye of Maine; that of Gen.

raised the value of our paper currency from 38 per cent. to the par of gold. It has restored upon a solid basis payment in coin for all the national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country. It has lifted the credit of the nation from the point where 6 per cent. bonds sold at 86 to that where 4 per cent. bonds are eagerly sought at a premium. Under its administration, railways have increased from 31,000 miles in 1860 to more than 82,000 in 1879. Our foreign trade has increased from $700,000,000 to $1,150,000,000 in the same time, and our exports, which were $20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860, were $264,000,000 more than our imports in 1879. Without resorting to loans, it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of government, besides the accruing interest on the public debt, and disbursed annually more than $30,000,000 for soldiers' pensions. It has paid $888,000,000 of the public debt, and by refunding the balance at lower rates has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly $150,000,000 to less than $89,000,000. All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed. Upon this record the Republican party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people, and this convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts:

1. We affirm that the work of the Republican party for the last twenty-one years has been such as to commend it to the favor of the nation; that the fruits of the costly victories which we have achieved through immense difficulties should be preserved; that the peace regained should be cherished; that the Union should be perpetuated, and that liberties secured to this generation should be transmitted undiminished to future generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pension promises should be paid; that the debt so much reduced should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted, and that the commerce, already increasing, should be steadily encouraged.

2. The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract. Out of confederated states it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied the nation, while others are denied the states, but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the national and not by the state tribunal.

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6. Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and the treaty-making power, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of the Chinese as a matter of great concernment, under the exercise of both these powers, would limit and restrict that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane, and reasonable laws and treaties as will produce that result.

7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the earlier career of Rutherford B. Hayes in peace and war, and which guided the thought of our immediate predecessors to him for a presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as chief executive, and that history will accord to his administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just, and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his vetoes between the people and attempted partisan laws.

8. We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust of office and patronage; that, to obtain possession of the national government and control of the place, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of suffrage and have devised fraudulent ballots and invented fraudulent certifications of returns; have labored to unseat lawfully elected members of Congress to secure at all hazards a majority of the states in the House of Representatives; have endeavored to occupy by force and fraud the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, rescued by the courage and action of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriation bills, upon whose passage the very movement of the government depended; have crushed the rights of the individual; have advocated the principles and sought the favor of rebellion against the nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories of the war, and to overcome its inestimably valuable results of nationality, personal freedom, and individual equality. The equal, steady, and complete enforcement of laws, and the protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution, are the first duties of the nation. The dangers of a solid South can only be averted by a faithful performance of every promise which the nation has made to its citizens. The execution of the laws, and the punishment of all those who violate them, are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured and genuine prosperity established throughout the South. Whatever promises the nation makes the nation must perform. A nation cannot safely relegate this duty to the states. The solid South must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all honest opinions must there find true expression. To this end the honest voter must be protected against terrorism, violence, or fraud. And we affirm it to be the duty and purpose of the Republican party to use all legitimate means to restore all states of this Union to the most perfect harmony that may be possible. And we submit to the practical, sensible people of the United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country at this time to surrender the administration of the national government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy, under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence, and hope.

Mr. James M. Barker of Massachusetts submitted the following amendment as an additional resolution:

The Republican party, adhering to the principle affirmed by its last national convention, of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical, and complete. To this end it demands the co-operation of the legislative with the executive department of the government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to and the report as amended adopted.

A recess (at 5.25 o'clock p. m.) was then taken until 7 p. m. After the recess the roll of states was called and the national committee selected, and on motion of Mr. Wm. P. Frye of Maine the roll of states was called in alphabetical order for nominations for a candidate for President. Names of candidates were then presented, as follows: James G. Blaine of Maine, by James F. Joy of Michigan; William Windom of Minnesota, by E. F. Drake of that state; Ulysses S. Grant, "from Appomattox and its famous apple tree," by Roscoe Conkling of New York; John Sherman of Ohio, by James A. Garfield of that state; George F. Edmunds of Vermont, by Frederick Billings of that state; Elihu B. Washburne of Illinois, by J. B. Cassady of Wisconsin. The nomination of Mr. Blaine was seconded by Messrs. F. M. Pixley of California, Frye of Maine; that of Gen.

Grant, by Mr. William O. Bradley of Kentucky; that of Mr. Sherman, by Mr. F. C. Winkler of Wisconsin and Mr. R. B. Elliott of South Carolina; that of Mr. Edmunds, by Mr. John E. Sanford of Massachusetts, and that of Mr. Washburne, by Mr. Augustus Brandagee of Connecticut.

The convention then (11.46 p. m.) adjourned to Monday at 10 a. m.

FIFTH DAY—MONDAY, JUNE 7, 1880, 10 A. M.

On motion of Senator Eugene Hale of Maine, the convention proceeded to ballot for a candidate for President, resulting as follows:

States.	Number of delegates.	Grant	Blaine.	Sherman.	Edmunds.
Alabama	20	16	1	3	
Arkansas	12	12			
California	12		12		
Colorado	6	6			
Connecticut	12		3		2
Delaware	6		6		
Florida	8	8			
Georgia	22	6	8	8	
Illinois	42	24	10		
Indiana	30	1	26	2	
Iowa	22		22		
Kansas	10	4	6		
Kentucky	24	20	1	3	
Louisiana	16	8	2	6	
Maine	14		14		
Maryland	16	7	7	2	
Massachusetts	26	3		2	20
Michigan	22	1	21		
Minnesota	10				
Mississippi	16	6	4	6	
Missouri	30	29			
Nebraska	6		6		
Nevada	6		6		
New Hampshire	10		10		
New Jersey	18		16		
New York	70	51	17	2	
North Carolina	20	6		14	
Ohio	44		9	34	1
Oregon	6		6		
Pennsylvania	58	32	23	3	
Rhode Island	8		8		
South Carolina	14	13		1	
Tennessee	24	16	6	1	1
Texas	16	11	2	2	
Vermont	10				10
Virginia	22	18	3	1	
West Virginia	10	1	8		
Wisconsin	20	1	7	3	
Total	756	304	284	93	34

Minnesota cast its 10 votes for Mr. Windom; Mr. Washburne received 7 votes from Connecticut, 8 from Illinois, 1 from Indiana, 1

from Massachusetts, 1 from Maine, 2 from New Jersey, 1 from Texas, and 9 from Wisconsin. Gen. Grant received 1 vote from each of the territories of Dakota, Utah, Wyoming, and 1 from the District of Columbia, and Mr. Blaine 1 vote from Dakota, Wyoming, and District of Columbia, and 2 votes each from Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, and Washington.

During the roll-call the chair ruled that nothing could interfere with the roll-call, and that at its conclusion any question raised regarding it could be settled by the convention.

During the day 27 additional ballots were taken without material change. Gen. Grant led with 304 votes and his vote fluctuated between 302 and 309. Mr. Blaine was next with 284, his number varying from 285 to 275. Mr. Sherman started with 93 and ended with 91, having dropped to 88 and risen to 97. Mr. Washburne had 31 at the start, raised to 36, and finished with 35. Senator Edmunds had 33 on the first, lost 1 on the second and 1 on the eighth ballot, and finished with 31. Senator Windom started and finished with 10 votes. Gen. Garfield received 1 vote on the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, twelfth, thirteenth, nineteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-second ballots (from Pennsylvania), 2 votes on the sixth, seventh, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, and twenty-fifth ballots, and none on the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth ballots. Scattering votes were also cast for Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio, George W. McCreary of Iowa, E. J. Davis of Texas, and John F. Hartranft of Pennsylvania.

And then (at 9 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.), on motion of Mr. Lovering of Massachusetts, the convention, after roll-call thereon, by yeas 446, nays 304, adjourned to meet at 10 a. m. the following day.

Sixth Day—Tuesday, June 8, 1880, 10 A. M.

The convention proceeded at once to balloting, the twenty-ninth ballot resulting in some changes. Twenty votes previously given to Mr. Edmunds were transferred to Mr. Sherman, which, with others, gave him 120 on the thirtieth ballot. On the thirty-fourth ballot the Wisconsin delegation cast its vote (18) for Gen. Garfield, and on the thirty-fifth ballot he received 27 votes from Indiana, four from Maryland, and one each from the states of Mississippi and North Carolina, making 50 in all, the additional votes being given by Mr. Blaine's supporters.

The thirty-sixth and final ballot resulted as follows :

States.	Number of delegates.	Garfield.	Grant.	Blaine.
Alabama	20	.....	16	4
Arkansas	12	.....	12	.....
California	12	.....	.....	12
Colorado	6	.....	6	.....
Connecticut	12	11	.....	1
Delaware	6	.....	.....	6
Florida	8	.....	8	.....
Georgia	22	1	8	10
Illinois	42	7	24	6
Indiana	30	29	1	.....
Iowa	22	22	.....	.....
Kansas	10	6	4	.....
Kentucky	24	3	20	1
Louisiana	16	8	8	.....
Maine	14	14	.....	.....
Maryland	16	10	6	.....
Massachusetts	26	22	4	.....
Michigan	22	21	1	.....
Minnesota	10	8	2	.....
Mississippi	16	9	7	.....
Missouri	30	1	29	.....
Nebraska	6	6	.....	.....
Nevada	6	3	2	1
New Hampshire	10	10	.....	.....
New Jersey	18	18	.....	.....
New York	70	20	50	.....
North Carolina	20	15	5	.....
Ohio	44	43	.....	.....
Oregon	6	6	.....	.....
Pennsylvania	58	21	37	.....
Rhode Island	8	8	.....	.....
South Carolina	14	6	8	.....
Tennessee	24	8	15	1
Texas	16	3	13	.....
Vermont	10	10	.....	.....
Virginia	22	3	19	.....
West Virginia	10	9	1	.....
Wisconsin	20	20	.....	.....
Total	756	399	306	42

Total number of votes cast 755
Necessary to a choice 378

Mr. Sherman received 3 votes from Georgia and Mr. Washburne 5 from Illinois, all the territories and the District of Columbia (18 votes) voting for General Garfield.

The president announced that James A. Garfield had received 399; Ulysses S. Grant, 306; James G. Blaine, 42; Elihu B. Washburne, 5, and John Sherman 3, and that James A. Garfield of Ohio, having received a majority, was the nominee of the convention for President.

The chair having put the question, Shall the nomination be made unanimous? Mr. Conkling made that motion and spoke in support of it, as did Messrs. John A. Logan of Illinois, James A. Beaver of Pennsylvania, Eugene Hale of Maine, Wm. H. Pleasants of Virginia, A. W. Campbell of West Virginia, W. W. Hicks of Florida, A. B. Norton of Texas, Charles Foster of Ohio, L. C. Houck of Tennessee, and

Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, after which the motion was unanimously agreed to.

The convention then (at 2.25 p. m.), on motion of Mr. Harrison of Indiana, took a recess until 5 p. m.

AFTER THE RECESS.

The convention then proceeded to make nominations for a candidate for Vice-President, and names were presented as follows: Elihu B. Washburne of Illinois, by Mr. Pixley of California; Marshall Jewell of Connecticut, by Mr. Henry C. Robinson of that state; Thomas Settle of North Carolina, by Mr. Hicks of Florida; Horace Maynard of Tennessee, by Mr. Houck of that state; Chester A. Arthur of New York, by Mr. Stewart L. Woodford of that state; Edmund J. Davis of Texas, by Mr. William Chambers of that state. Several speeches were made seconding the various nominations, after which the roll of states and territories was called, resulting as follows:

States.	*Arthur.*	*Washburne.*	*Jewell.*
Alabama	18	.....	2
Arkansas	12	.....	.....
California	.....	12	.....
Colorado	6	.....	.....
Connecticut	.....	.....	12
Delaware	6	.....	.....
Florida	8	.....	.....
Georgia	22	.....	.....
Illinois	24	18	.....
Indiana	5	11	5
Iowa	.....	23	.....
Kansas	10	.....	.....
Kentucky	24	.....	.....
Louisiana	10	.....	.....
Maine	.....	.....	14
Maryland	16	.....	.....
Massachusetts	2	22	1
Michigan	6	12	.....
Minnesota	8	2	.....
Mississippi	11	.....	1
Missouri	30	.....	.....
Nebraska	.....	6	.....
Nevada	.....	6	.....
New Hampshire	3	3	4
New Jersey	3	14	1
New York	60	1	.....
North Carolina	20	.....	.....
Ohio	42	2	.....
Oregon	6	.....	.....
Pennsylvania	47	11	.....
Rhode Island	.....	8	.....
South Carolina	14	.....	.....
Tennessee	.....	.....	.....
Texas	9	5	.....
Vermont	4	5	.....
Virginia	19	2	1
West Virginia	1	9	.....
Wisconsin	2	16	.....
Territories	11	4	1
Total	468	193	44

Horace Maynard of Tennessee received 30 votes as follows: Tennessee 24, Indiana 4, and Vermont and Wisconsin each 1. Blanche K. Bruce of Mississippi 8 votes, viz: 2 from Indiana, 4 from Louisiana, and 1 each from Michigan and Wisconsin. James L. Alcorn of Mississippi, 4 from that state. Edmund J. Davis of Texas, 2 from Louisiana. Stewart L. Woodford of New York, 1 from Indiana, and Thomas Settle of North Carolina, 1 from Indiana.

The result was then announced, after which the usual motions making the nominations unanimous, for a committee of notification, etc., were adopted and the convention adjourned.

Dwight M. Sabin of Minnesota was made chairman of the National Committee.

The Democratic National Convention was held at Cincinnati, Ohio, on June 22–24. The Tammany delegation, headed by John Kelley, was excluded on account of their declaration that in the event of Mr. Tilden's nomination that delegation would not support him. A minority report giving the Tammany delegates 20 out of the 70 votes allowed New York was defeated by yeas 205, nays 457, the New York delegation not voting.

The first ballot resulted as follows:

Winfield S. Hancock of Pennsylvania	171
Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware	153½
Henry B. Payne of Ohio	81
Allen G. Thurman of Ohio	68½
Stephen J. Field of California	65
William R. Morrison of Illinois	62
Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana	50½
Samuel J. Tilden of New York	38
Horatio Seymour of New York	8
Scattering	31

Mr. Tilden had written a letter in which he "renounced" the nomination, and the New York delegation cast its vote for Mr. Payne of Ohio. The convention then adjourned, and on the following day nominated General Hancock on the second ballot with but 33 opposing votes. William H. English of Indiana was then nominated for Vice-President on the first ballot.

The Greenback party held its national convention at Chicago on June 9th, and nominated General James B. Weaver of Iowa for President, B. J. Chambers of Texas for Vice-President.

The Prohibitionists held a convention at Cleveland, on June 17th, which attracted little attention, but 12 states being represented with 142 delegates. Neal Dow of Maine was nominated for President, and A. M. Thompson of Ohio for Vice-President.

The popular and electoral votes cast in 1880 were as follows:

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTES OF 1880.

States.	Popular.			Electoral.	
	Garfield, Republican.	Hancock, Democrat.	Weaver, Greenback.	Garfield.	Hancock.
Alabama	56,291	91,185	4,642		10
Arkansas	42,436	60,775	4,079		6
California	80,348	80,426	3,392	1	5
Colorado	27,450	24,647	1,435	3	
Connecticut	67,071	64,415	868	6	
Delaware	14,133	15,275	120		3
Florida	23,654	27,964			4
Georgia	54,086	102,470	969		11
Illinois	318,037	277,321	26,358	21	
Indiana	232,164	225,522	12,986	15	
Iowa	183,927	105,845	32,701	11	
Kansas	121,549	59,801	19,851	5	
Kentucky	106,306	149,068	11,499		12
Louisiana	38,637	65,067	439		8
Maine	74,039	65,171	4,408	7	
Maryland	78,515	93,706	818		8
Massachusetts	165,205	111,960	4,548	13	
Michigan	185,341	131,597	34,895	11	
Minnesota	93,903	53,315	3,267	5	
Mississippi	34,854	75,750	5,797		8
Missouri	153,567	208,609	35,145		15
Nebraska	54,979	28,523	3,950	3	
Nevada	8,732	9,613			3
New Hampshire	44,852	40,794	528	5	
New Jersey	120,555	122,565	2,617		9
New York	555,544	534,511	12,373	35	
North Carolina	115,874	124,208	1,126		10
Ohio	375,048	340,821	6,456	22	
Oregon	20,619	19,948	249	3	
Pennsylvania	444,704	407,428	20,668	29	
Rhode Island	18,195	10,779	236	4	
South Carolina	58,071	112,312	566		7
Tennessee	107,677	128,191	5,917		12
Texas	57,893	156,428	27,405		8
Vermont	45,567	18,316	1,215	5	
Virginia	84,020	128,586			11
West Virginia	46,243	57,391	9,079		5
Wisconsin	144,400	114,649	7,986	10	
Totals	4,454,416	4,444,952	307,306	214	155

EIGHTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, JUNE 3–6, 1884.

BLAINE and LOGAN.

The Eighth National Convention of the Republican party was called to order on June 3, 1884, at 12 o'clock m., by Hon. Dwight M. Sabin of Minnesota, chairman of the national committee, who proposed the name of Powell Clayton of Arkansas as temporary chairman.

Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts moved to substitute the name of John R. Lynch of Mississippi. After a long debate, the roll of individual delegates was ordered called by Chairman Sabin, following the ruling of Chairman Hoar in the last preceding convention, "that in the absence of rules the method of taking the question rests in the sound discretion of the chair, subject, of course, to the order of the convention."

The result of the roll-call was as follows:

Whole number of votes cast	808
For John R. Lynch	424
For Powell Clayton	384
Majority for Lynch	40

The election of Mr. Lynch, on motion of Mr. Clayton, was then made unanimous.

Titus Sheard of New York and Joseph W. Lee of Pennsylvania were then elected temporary secretaries, and the rules of the last national convention adopted until a permanent organization was perfected.

Mr. William J. Sewell of New Jersey moved that the roll of states be called and the chairmen of the different delegations respond with the names of members of the Committees on Credentials, Permanent Organization, Rules and Order of Business, and Resolutions, which was agreed to, and the committees were then formed. Mr. Edward L. Pierce of Massachusetts submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the subject of a revised apportionment of delegates to future national conventions and of a revised apportionment of members of the national committee be referred to the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, with leave to report before the ballot for President.

Motions to table and postpone the resolution were lost, and the same was adopted, after which a recess was taken until 11 o'clock a. m., June 4.

SECOND DAY—WEDNESDAY, JUNE 4, 1884, 11 A. M.

George B. Williams of Indiana, from the Committee on Permanent Organization, reported the names of John B. Henderson of Missouri for permanent president, and Charles W. Clisbee of Michigan for secretary, and a vice-president and assistant secretary from each state and territory, which report was adopted.

The convention then took a recess until 7 o'clock p. m.

After the recess, the Committee on Credentials not being ready to report, the convention adjourned until 10 o'clock a. m., the following day.

THIRD DAY—THURSDAY, JUNE 5, 1884.

Mr. Henry Ballard of Vermont, from the Committee on Credentials, submitted the unanimous report of the committee in favor of the sitting members and their alternates in the following districts: First and Seventh Alabama; Fourth Texas; First Georgia; Second Illinois; First Kentucky; Fourth Maryland; Sixth New York, and Twenty-first Pennsylvania. In the Nineteenth New York recommended that the sitting members and their alternates and the contestants and their alternates be admitted to seats with one-half of a vote to each delegate, and the same recommendation was made as to the Fifth Kentucky district.

In the Virginia contest the committee reported in favor of the delegation headed by William Mahone.

The report was adopted without debate or division.

Mr. William H. Parks of California, from the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, submitted a report proposing a code of rules, as follows:

Rule 1. Same as in 1880.

Rule 2. This convention shall be governed by the general parliamentary law, taking Cushing's Manual for authority; except so far as otherwise provided in the following rules:

Rule 3. Same as in 1880.

Rule 4. Same as in 1880.

Rule 5. Same as in 1880.

Rule 6. Same as in 1880.

Rule 7. Same as in 1880.

Rule 8. Same as in 1880.

Rule 9. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, no longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the convention, except in the presentation of names of candidates.

Rule 10. A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each state, territory, and the District of Columbia, represented in this convention. The roll shall be called and the delegation from each state, territory,

and the District of Columbia shall name, through their chairman, a person to act as a member of such committee. Such committee shall prescribe a method or methods for the election of the delegates to the National Convention to be held in 1888, announce the same to the country, and issue a call for that convention in conformity therewith, provided that such methods or rules shall include and secure to the several congressional districts in the United States the right to select their own delegates to the National Convention.

Rule 11. Same as in 1880.

Mr. Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania moved to amend rule 10 so as to read as follows:

Rule 10. A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each state, territory, and the District of Columbia. The roll shall be called and the delegation from each state, territory, and the District of Columbia shall name, through its chairman, a person who shall act as a member of such committee. Such committee shall issue the call for the meeting of the National Convention six months at least before the time set for said meeting; and each congressional district in the United States shall elect its delegates to the National Convention in the same way as the nomination of a member of Congress is made in said district; and in the territories the delegates to the convention shall be elected in the same way as the nomination of a delegate to Congress is made; and said National Committee shall prescribe the mode for electing the delegate for the District of Columbia. An alternate delegate for each delegate to the National Convention, to act in case of the absence of the delegate, shall be elected in the same manner and at the same time as the delegate is elected.

After debate the substitute was adopted. Mr. Parks further reported the following as an additional rule, viz:

Rule 12. The convention shall proceed in the following order of business, commencing after the reports of the Committees on Credentials and Rules: First, report of the Committee on Resolutions. Second, presentation of candidates for President. Third, balloting. Fourth, presentation of candidates for Vice-President. Fifth, balloting.

Mr. Thomas M. Bayne of Pennsylvania submitted an amendment to insert after the first paragraph that the roll of states be called to report the names of the members of the National Committee. Mr. Parks accepted the amendment, and the rule was adopted as modified.

Mr. John M. Thurston of Nebraska moved an amendment to Rule 7, which was agreed to, striking out the word "cast" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "all the votes of the convention." Mr. Wilbur F. Saunders of Montana moved an amendment to Rule 10, which was agreed to, adding the following words:

Provided, That no person shall be elected a member of the committee who is not eligible as a member of the Electoral College.

An amendment by Mr. L. W. Russell of New York, adding the words "with leave to report at any time" was agreed to, and the report of the committee as amended agreed to. Mr. Parks, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following resolution:

Resolved, That in future Republican national conventions representation shall be as follows:

First. Each state shall be entitled to four delegates at large, and to two additional delegates at large for each representative at large, if any, elected in such state at the last preceding congressional election.

Second. Each territory and the District of Columbia shall be entitled to two delegates.

Third. Each congressional district shall be entitled to two delegates.

Mr. Robert R. Bishop of Massachusetts submitted a minority report, which was debated and withdrawn, and the report of the committee agreed to.

Hon. William McKinley of Ohio, from the Committee on Resolutions, submitted the following unanimous report:

PLATFORM.

The Republicans of the United States, in national convention assembled, renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive presidential elections, and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration, by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal, and beneficent—the safeguard of liberty and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens. The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and equality of all men; for a united nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation, and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the government, and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration; a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished services in war and peace have endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

In the administration of President Arthur, we recognize a wise, conservative, and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity; and we believe his eminent services are entitled to, and will receive, the hearty approval of every citizen.

It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people. The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people. We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not "for revenue only," but that in raising the requisite revennes for the government such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share of the national prosperity.

Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest. The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff, and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer of the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing, and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we therefore respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duty upon foreign wool, in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that efforts should be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the states is one of the most important prerogatives of the general government, and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over inter-state commerce.

The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people; and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall

secure to the people and to railways alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor; the enforcement of the eight-hour law; a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor and in a desire that all men may be truly free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit, we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offence against the spirit of American institutions; and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reformed system, already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments; and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved, as far as possible, for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil. We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation, in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war; and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled, and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the arrears act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions begin with the date of disability or discharge, and not with the date of application.

The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which gives us the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs—a policy which seeks peace and trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may in any sea protect the rights of American citizens and the interest of American commerce, and we call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored, and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

Resolved, That the appointments by the President to offices in the territories should be made from the *bona-fide* citizens and residents of the territories wherein they are to serve.

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our territories, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon church; and that the law so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities, if possible, and by the military, if need be.

The people of the United States, in their organized capacity, constitute a nation and not a mere confederacy of states. The national government is supreme within the sphere of its national duties, but the states have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained; each should be guarded with jealous care, so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved and the Union kept inviolate. The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count, and correct returns.

We denounce the fraud and violence practiced by the Democracy in southern states, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions; and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of the fruits of such fraud and violence. We extend to the Republicans of the south, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy; and pledge to them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all civil and political rights.

The report (platform) was adopted without debate or division.

The roll of states was then called and the national committee constituted for the campaign of 1884, Mr. B. F. Jones of Pennsylvania being chairman and Samuel Fessenden of Connecticut secretary.

The convention then took a recess until 7 o'clock p. m.

After the Recess.

Nominations for a candidate for President were then made as follows:

Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut, by Mr. Augustus Brandagee of that state.

John A. Logan of Illinois, by Shelby M. Cullom of that state.

James G. Blaine of Maine, by William H. West of Ohio.

Chester A. Arthur of New York, by Martin I. Townsend of that state.

John Sherman of Ohio, by Joseph B. Foraker of that state.

George F. Edmunds of Vermont, by John D. Long of Massachusetts.

After speeches in support of and seconding said nominations had been made, Mr. Foraker moved that the convention proceed to ballot, pending which Mr. Thurston moved that a recess be taken until 10 a. m. the following day, which motion was lost by yeas 391, nays 410.

Mr. Silas P. Dutcher of New York moved the previous question on the motion of Mr. Foraker. A call of the roll of states was commenced but was interrupted by Mr. McKinley of Ohio (by unanimous consent) with a motion to dispense with the roll-call and to adjourn until 11 o'clock the following morning, which was agreed to.

Fourth Day, Friday, June 6, 1884.

The roll was called to nominate for a candidate for President, resulting as follows:

States.	No. of votes.	Arthur.	Blaine.	Edmunds.	Logan.	Sherman.
Alabama	20	17	1	.....	1	.....
Arkansas	14	4	8	2	.....	.....
California	16	.....	16	.....	.....	.....
Colorado	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Delaware	6	1	5	.....	.....	.....
Florida	8	7	1	.....	.....	.....
Georgia	24	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois	44	1	3	.....	40	.....
Indiana	30	9	18	1	.....	2
Iowa	26	.....	26	.....	.....	.....
Kansas	18	4	12	.....	1	1
Kentucky	26	16	5½	.....	2½	1
Louisiana	16	10	2	.....	3	.....
Maine	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....
Maryland	16	6	10	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts	28	2	1	25	.....	.....
Michigan	26	2	15	7	.....	.....
Minnesota	14	1	7	6	.....	.....
Mississippi	18	17	1	.....	.....	.....
Missouri	32	10	5	6	10	1
Nebraska	10	2	8	.....	.....	.....
Nevada	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....
New Hampshire	8	4	.....	4	.....	.....
New Jersey	18	9	.....	6	.....	1
New York	72	31	28	12	.....	.....
North Carolina	22	19	2	.....	1	.....
Ohio	46	.....	21	.....	.....	25
Oregon	6	.....	6	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania	60	11	47	1	1	.....
Rhode Island	8	.....	.....	8	.....	.....
South Carolina	18	17	1	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee	24	16	7	.....	1	.....
Texas	26	11	13	.....	2	.....
Vermont	8	.....	.....	8	.....	.....
Virginia	24	21	2	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia	12	.....	12	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin	22	6	10	6	.....	.....
Territories	.....	9	8	1	.....	.....
Total	820	278	334½	93	63½	30

Necessary to a choice, 411.

The vote of Connecticut (12) was cast for Joseph R. Hawley, who also received 1 vote from Kansas; 4 votes were cast for Robert T. Lincoln, viz: 1 from Kentucky, 2 from New Jersey, and 1 from New York; and Michigan cast 2 votes for General W. T. Sherman.

The convention then proceeded to a second ballot, on which Mr. Blaine gained 5 votes, Mr. Arthur lost 2, Mr. Edmunds lost 8, Mr. Logan lost 2½, Mr. Sherman lost 2, and Gen. Sherman gained 1.

On the third ballot Mr. Blaine gained 16, Mr. Arthur lost 2, Mr. Edmunds lost 16, Mr. Logan lost 8, Mr. Sherman lost 3, Mr. Lincoln, gained 4, Gen. Sherman lost 1.

Mr. Foraker moved a recess until 10 o'clock the following morning, which motion was lost on a call by yeas 364, nays 450.

Mr. Foraker then moved that the rules be suspended and that James G. Blaine be nominated by acclamation. Mr. Julius Cæsar Burrows of Michigan objected and demanded the regular order.

The convention then proceeded to the fourth ballot, resulting as follows :

States.	*Arthur.*	*Blaine.*	*Edmunds.*
Alabama	12	8	.....
Arkansas	3	11	.....
California	.....	16	.....
Colorado	.....	6	.....
Connecticut	.....	.....	.....
Delaware	1	5	.....
Florida	5	3	.....
Georgia	24	.....	.....
Illinois	3	34	.....
Indiana	.....	30	.....
Iowa	2	24	.....
Kansas	.....	18	.....
Kentucky	15	9	.....
Louisiana	7	9	.....
Maine	.....	12	.....
Maryland	1	15	.....
Massachusetts	7	3	18
Michigan	.....	26	.....
Minnesota	.....	14	.....
Mississippi	16	2	.....
Missouri	.....	32	.....
Nebraska	.....	10	.....
Nevada	.....	6	.....
New Hampshire	2	3	3
New Jersey	.....	17	1
New York	30	29	9
North Carolina	12	8	.....
Ohio	.....	46	.....
Oregon	.....	6	.....
Pennsylvania	8	51	1
Rhode Island	1	7	.....
South Carolina	15	2	1
Tennessee	12	11	.....
Texas	8	15	.....
Vermont	.....	.....	8
Virginia	20	4	.....
West Virginia	.....	12	.....
Wisconsin	.....	22	.....
Territories	3	15	.....
Total	207	541	41

Mr. Hawley received 15 votes (12 from Connecticut, 2 from New York, and 1 from North Carolina), Mr. Logan 7 votes (6 from Illinois and 1 from Kentucky), and Mr. Robert T. Lincoln 2 votes (1 from Kentucky and 1 from New York).

The nomination was then made unanimous, after which the convention then took a recess until 8 o'clock.

After the Recess.

The roll of states was then called for the nomination of candidates for Vice-President, when the name of John A. Logan was presented

NINTH NATIONAL CONVENTION,

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, JUNE 19–25, 1888.

HARRISON and MORTON.

The Ninth Republican National Convention was called to order at 12 o'clock in the Auditorium at Chicago, Ill., Tuesday, June 19, 1888, by B. F. Jones of Pennsylvania, chairman of the National Committee, who, at its request, proposed the name of John M. Thurston of Nebraska as temporary chairman with other temporary officers. On motion of Mr. Henry H. Bingham of Pennsylvania, the rules of the last National Republican Convention were adopted until an organization was perfected.

On motion of Mr. George R. Davis of Illinois, the usual resolution for the appointment of Committees on Permanent Organization, Rules and Order of Business, Credentials and Resolutions, by a call of the roll of states and territories, was adopted.

The roll was then called and the said committees formed.

The question as to the delegates from Virginia being entitled to name the several committee members from that state was then presented by the chair to the convention. Mr. Steenerson of Minnesota moved to amend the order for the appointment of said committees so as to provide that they should be constituted by one member from each state where there was no contest, which motion was laid on the table on motion of Mr. Hoar of Massachusetts, who further moved, by unanimous consent, that in states where there was no contest, the credentials be given to their member of the Committee on Credentials, which was agreed to, and the convention at 3.29 p. m. adjourned until the following day at 12 m.

SECOND DAY—WEDNESDAY, JUNE 20, 1888, 12 M.

Mr. Charles Foster of Ohio, from the Committee on Permanent Organization, reported the name of Morris M. Estee of California for permanent president, the temporary secretaries and other officers to be permanent.

After an address by the president and presentation of gavels, Mr.

Thomas M. Bayne of Pennsylvania, from the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, submitted the following report:

Rule 1. Same as in 1880 and 1884, except that Dakota was given ten and Washington Territory six delegates.

Rule 2. Same as in 1880 and 1884.

Rule 3. Same as in 1880 and 1884.

Rule 4. Same as in 1880 and 1884.

Rule 5. Same as in 1880 and 1884.

Rule 6. Same as in 1880 and 1884.

Rule 7. In making the nominations for President and Vice-President, in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with. When it appears at the close of any roll-call that any candidate has received a majority of all the votes to which the convention is entitled, the president of the convention shall announce the question to be: Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous? But if no candidate shall have received such majority, the chair shall direct the vote to be taken again, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast, and when any state has announced its vote it shall so stand, unless in case of numerical error.

Rule 8. Same as in 1880.

Rule 9. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the convention, except in the presentation of names of candidates.

Rule 10. A Republican national committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each state, territory and District of Columbia. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each state, territory, and the District of Columbia shall name, through its chairman, a person who shall act as a member of such committee. Such committee shall issue the call for the meeting of the national convention six months, at least, before the time fixed for said meeting; and each congressional district in the United States shall elect its delegates to the national convention in the same way as the nomination for a member of Congress is made in said district, and in territories the delegates to the convention shall be elected in the same way as a nomination of a delegate to Congress is made, and said national committee shall prescribe the mode for selecting the delegates for the District of Columbia. An alternate delegate for each delegate to the national convention, to act in case of the absence of the delegate, shall be elected in the same manner and at the same time as the delegate is elected. Delegates at large for each state, and their alternates, shall be elected by state conventions in their respective states.

Rule 11. The Republican national committee is authorized and empowered to select an executive committee, to consist of nine members, who may or may not be members of the national committee.

Rule 12. Same as Rule 11 in 1880 and 1884.

Rule 13. No person except members of the several delegations and officers of the convention shall be admitted to that section of the hall apportioned to delegates.

Rule 14. The convention shall proceed in the following order of business:

1. Report of the Committee on Credentials.
2. Report of the Committee on Resolutions.
3. Naming of members of National Committee.
4. Presentation of candidates for President.
5. Balloting.
6. Presentation of candidates for Vice-President.
7. Balloting.

Mr. Bayne stated that the rules were substantially those of the last national convention, the essential changes being the adoption of the rules of the House of Representatives so far as applicable instead of Cushing's manual, and the appointment of an executive committee of nine members. Mr. Benjamin Butterworth of Ohio moved to amend so as to limit speeches to 15 minutes, which was disagreed to. Mr. George F. Hoar of Massachusetts moved to amend rule 10 by striking out the words "an alternate delegate for each delegate to the national convention, to act in case of the

absence of the delegate, shall be elected," etc., and in lieu insert the words "alternate delegates for each delegate at large and alternate delegates for each district delegation, to consist of the same number as their principals, to act in case of the absence of the delegates who shall be elected," etc., which amendment was disagreed to after debate, and the original report, on motion of Mr. William J. Sewell of New Jersey, adopted. The convention then, at 2.09 p. m., took a recess until 8 o'clock p. m.

After the Recess, 8 P. M.

After some miscellaneous detail business had been transacted and addresses made, Mr. William P. Hepburn of Iowa, from the Committee on Credentials, submitted a report accepting the roll printed by the national committee as correct, and reporting nineteen cases of contest. Mr. D. L. Russell of North Carolina submitted a minority report dissenting only as to Virginia, after which the report, except as to the Virginia contest, was agreed to.

In view of the importance of the questions involved as to the mode or manner of selecting district delegates in Virginia, which mode had been followed in other states, the report of the committee and views of the minority submitted by Mr. Russell are given in full as follows:

The cases of contest are as follows: Third Georgia, Tenth Georgia, Fifth Louisiana, Third South Carolina, Seventh Tennessee, Third Maryland, First Massachusetts, and District of Columbia. As to these cases the committee was unanimous. As to the Virginia contest, the majority report was as follows:

The committee begs leave to submit the following report in the contested cases from the state of Virginia. The committee afforded to the parties in interest the fullest opportunity within the limits of reasonable time to present their evidence, and upon the testimony adduced feels warranted to recommend to this convention that there be admitted as delegates at large the four delegates and alternates headed by the Hon. William Mahone, and all the district delegates, excepting those of the Ninth Congressional district, known as the Virginia delegates headed by the Hon. John S. Wise. The delegates at large, in favor of whom we report, were chosen by a state convention of the Republican party. The contestants, against whom we report, were chosen, according to their own statement, by a minority of that convention, who retired therefrom for reasons which, as the committee thinks, are not within its province to report upon or discuss. The contests in the district delegations in Virginia arise from the fact that two distinct conventions were held for all but two of the ten Congressional districts, in each case one being held within and one without the territorial limits of the respective district. The question which the committee was called upon to decide was which of these two conventions in each district was held in accordance with the call of the National Committee. It was not denied that heretofore in Virginia it has been the invariable custom to hold district conventions to nominate candidates for Congress within the territorial limits of the district. The language of the national call is as follows: "The Congressional district delegates shall be chosen in the same manner as the nomination of a member of Congress is made in said district." Undoubtedly unanimous acquiescence in the selection of these district delegates at

points outside the district might cure any defect of compliance with the letter of the national call. But where, as in the cases from Virginia, a demand has been made and insisted upon by any considerable number of Republican voters for the right of local self-government, and conventions have been held within the district and delegates have been duly chosen, the committee feels constrained to recognize such delegates as chosen in accordance with the letter and spirit of the national call, and to reject the claims of the delegates chosen by the Republicans assembled beyond the territorial limits of the district. In our decisions in these cases we have been governed by this rule, and we feel that the good accomplished by the emphatic recognition of the rule and its enforcement is of much more importance to the Republican party than is the interest of any particular individual, ring, or faction, and accordingly we make the following detailed report:

Then follows the list, which is immaterial. As to the Ninth district, the report is as follows:

Your committee is of the opinion that there was no convention regularly or lawfully called or held to elect delegates to the National Convention for the Ninth Congressional district of Virginia, and therefore recommend that this district be left unrepresented. All of which is respectfully submitted.

The minority report was as follows:

The undersigned, members of the Committee on Credentials, respectfully report that they dissent from the majority in so far as it admits delegates from the Second, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, and Tenth districts of Virginia, who were elected by pretended conventions which were never called by the state committee, the only authority which, under the recognized and, at the time, universally accepted written law of the party, could convene a district convention, and fix the time and place of its meeting; and we further dissent from the refusal of the majority to recommend the admission of those delegates from the Second, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth districts of Virginia who were elected by conventions which were called by the state committee, according to the plan of organization which was in force and universally recognized as the existing and only law of the party by the Republicans of Virginia. As to the Third district, we do not dissent from the conclusion that John S. Wise and his colleague should be seated, because it appears that their convention was called by the state committee, and that the Wise delegation from the city of Richmond was regular, and that they, with nine other rightful delegates from other cities and counties, constituted the lawful convention of the Third district. The action of the majority, if ratified by this national convention, destroys all party organization in Virginia, and if followed to its legitimate and logical conclusion, annihilates the party organization throughout the country. It serves notice upon the dissatisfied minority of any state or district in the Union that they may disregard form, regularity, authority and party law in furtherance of their purpose to override decisions of majorities regularly and lawfully declared. The only excuse approaching a reason for their extraordinary conduct is sought in the fact that the regular district conventions called by the state committee were held outside of the territorial limits of their respective districts, a conclusion which, if impartially applied, excludes from this convention various states and districts throughout the Union. Nor is it any sufficient answer to say that those delegates now sitting in this body holding their credentials from conventions called and held in precisely the same way as these delegates from Virginia, may rightfully hold their seats because no one appears to contest them. If their conventions were unlawfully called and held, their title is inherently and fundamentally defective, and they have no right to seats on this floor than any other body of unauthorized strangers. In all earnestness we protest against this flagrant breach of form, of regularity, usage, justice, and party law.

The foregoing minority report was signed by William E. Sharon of Nevada, Aaron Wall of Nebraska, John M. Freeman of South Carolina, A. H. Leonard of Louisiana, B. N. Sullivan of Dakota, J. J. Spelman of Mississippi, and D. L. Russell of North Carolina.

The report of the committee, save that portion relating to the contest in Virginia, was then adopted. That portion of the report relating to the delegates at large from Virginia was then adopted

without division. Mr. H. Steenerson of Minnesota moved to admit the delegation from the Ninth district headed by Mr. M. B. Wood, which motion was agreed to. The question was then put on the report of the minority as a substitute for the committee's report as to the Second district, and resulted, on a call of the roll, yeas 249½, nays 514. The remainder of the report of the committee was then adopted without division, after which the convention adjourned.

Third Day—Thursday, June 21, 1888.

The roll of states and territories was then called, and the National Committee membership completed.

William McKinley, Jr., of Ohio, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, then reported from that committee the following "declaration of principles":

PLATFORM.

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their delegates in National Convention, pause on the threshold of their proceedings to honor the memory of their first great leader—the immortal champion of liberty and the rights of the people—Abraham Lincoln, and to cover also with wreaths of imperishable remembrance and gratitude the heroic names of our later leaders who have been more recently called away from our councils—Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan, Conkling. May their memories be faithfully cherished! We also recall with our greetings and with prayer for his recovery, the name of one of our living heroes, whose memory will be treasured in the history both of Republicans and of the Republic—the name of that noble soldier and favorite child of victory—Philip H. Sheridan.

In the spirit of those great leaders, and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican party, we send fraternal congratulations to our fellow-Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completed the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents. We earnestly hope that we may soon congratulate our fellow-citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of home rule for Ireland.

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the national constitution and to the indissoluble union of the states; to the autonomy reserved to the states under the constitution; to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the states and territories in the Union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections, and to have that ballot duly counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our republican government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of all public authority. We charge that the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the constitution and laws of the United States.

We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue, and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the general business, the labor, and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican representatives in Congress in opposing its passage.

We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry throughout the United States.

The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the national revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture,

and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes, and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries) the like of which cannot be produced at home. If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system at the joint behest of the whisky trusts and the agents of foreign manufactures.

We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor and of Chinese labor, alien to our civilization and our constitution, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the existing laws against it, and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens; and we recommend to Congress and the state legislatures in their respective jurisdictions such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the states.

We reaffirm the policy of appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers—not aliens—which the Republican party established in 1862 against the persistent opposition of the Democrats in Congress, and which has brought our great western domain into such magnificent development. The restoration of unearned railroad land grants to the public domain, for the use of actual settlers, which was begun under the administration of President Arthur, should be continued. We deny that the Democratic party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of the Republicans and Democrats in Congress about 60,000,000 of acres of unearned lands, originally granted for the construction of railroads, have been restored to the public domain, in pursuance of the conditions inserted by the Republican party in the original grants. We charge the Democratic administration with failure to execute laws securing to settlers titles to their homesteads, and with using appropriations made for that purpose to harass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions, under the false pretense of exposing frauds and vindicating the law.

The government by Congress of the territories is based upon necessity only, to the end that they may become states in the Union; therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence, and morality are such as to insure a stable local government therein, the people of such territories should be permitted—as a right inherent in them—to form for themselves constitutions and state governments and be admitted to the Union. Pending the preparation for statehood all officers thereof should be selected from among the *bona fide* residents and citizens of the territories wherein they are to serve.

South Dakota should of right be immediately admitted as a state in the Union, under the constitution framed and adopted by her people, and we heartily indorse the action of the Republican Senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic House of Representatives, for partisan purposes, to favorably consider these bills is a willful violation of the sacred American principle of local self-government, and merits the condemnation of all just men. The pending bills in the Senate to enable the people of Washington, North Dakota and Montana territories to form constitutions and establish state governments should be passed without unnecessary delay. The Republican party pledges itself to do all in its power to facilitate the admission of the territories of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho, and Arizona to the enjoyment of self-government as states; such of them as are now qualified as soon as possible, and the others as soon as they become so.

The political power of the Mormon church in the territories as exercised in the past is a menace to free institutions—a danger no longer to be suffered. Therefore we pledge the Republican party to appropriate legislation asserting the sovereignty of the nation in all territories where the same is questioned, and in furtherance of that end to place upon the statute books legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power, and thus stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy.

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

We demand the reduction of letter postage to one cent per ounce.

In a republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter

of that intelligence which is to preserve us a free nation; therefore the state or nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning, sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education.

We earnestly recommend that prompt action be taken by Congress in the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabilitation of our American merchant marine, and we protest against the passage by Congress of a free ship bill as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials as well as those directly employed in our shipyards.

We demand appropriations for the early rebuilding of our navy; for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordnance and other approved modern means of defense for the protection of our defenseless harbors and cities; for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers; for necessary works of national importance in the improvement of harbors and the channels of internal, coastwise, and foreign commerce; for the encouragement of the shipping interests of the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific States, as well as for the payment of the maturing debt. This policy will give employment to our labor, activity to our various industries, increase the security of our country, promote trade, open new and direct markets for our produce, and cheapen the cost of transportation. We affirm this to be far better for our country than the Democratic policy of loaning the government's money without interest to "pet banks."

The conduct of foreign affairs by the present administration has been distinguished by its inefficiency and its cowardice. Having withdrawn from the Senate all pending treaties effected by a Republican administration for the removal of foreign burdens and restrictions upon our commerce, and for its extension into better markets, it has neither effected nor proposed any others in their stead. Professing adherence to the Monroe doctrine, it has seen with idle complacency the extension of foreign influence in Central America and of foreign trade everywhere among our neighbors. It has refused to charter, sanction, or encourage American organization for constructing the Nicaragua Canal, a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine, and of our national influence in Central and South America, and necessary for the development of trade with our Pacific territory, with South America, and with the islands and further coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

We arraign the present Democratic administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the fisheries question and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our fishing vessels are entitled in Canadian ports under the treaty of 1818, the reciprocal maritime legislation of 1830, and the comity of nations, and which Canadian fishing vessels receive in the ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress toward our fisheries, as unfriendly and conspicuously unpatriotic, and as tending to destroy a valuable national industry, and an indispensable resource of defense against a foreign enemy.

The name of American applies alike to all citizens of the republic, and imposes upon all alike the same obligation of obedience to the laws. At the same time that citizenship is and must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it, and protect him, whether high or low, rich or poor, in all his civil rights. It should and must afford him protection at home, and follow and protect him abroad in whatever land he may be on a lawful errand.

The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884 and continued to adhere to the Democratic party have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom and purity of ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit:

"The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under the Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided."

The gratitude of the nation to the defenders of the Union cannot be measured by laws. The legislation of Congress should conform to the pledges made by a loyal people, and be so enlarged and extended as to provide against the possibility that any man who honorably wore the federal uniform shall become an inmate of an alms-house, or dependent upon private charity. In the presence of an overflowing treasury it would be a public scandal to do less for those whose valorous service preserved the government. We denounce the hostile spirit shown by President Cleveland in his numerous

vetoes of measures for pension relief, and the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation.

In support of the principles herewith enunciated, we invite the co-operation of patriotic men of all parties, and especially of all workingmen, whose prosperity is seriously threatened by the free-trade policy of the present administration.

The report was adopted without debate or division.

Just prior to the adjournment *sine die* of the convention, on June 25, on motion of Mr. Charles A. Boutelle of Maine, the rules were suspended and the following resolution adopted to be added to the platform :

The first concern of good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people and the purity of the home. The Republican party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality.

The roll of states was then called for the presentation of candidates for President, when the following names were presented :

Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut, by Samuel Warner of Connecticut.

Walter Q. Gresham of Illinois, by Leonard Swett of Illinois.

Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, by Richard W. Thompson of Indiana.

The convention at 12.45 p. m. took a recess until 3 p. m.

After the recess, 3 p. m., additional names were presented, viz :

William B. Allison of Iowa, by William P. Hepburn of Iowa.

Russell A. Alger of Michigan, by Robert E. Fraser of Michigan.

Chauncey M. Depew of New York, by Frank Hiscock of New York.

John Sherman of Ohio, by D. H. Hastings of Pennsylvania.

Edwin H. Fitler of Pennsylvania, by Charles Emory Smith of Pennsylvania.

Jeremiah M. Rusk of Wisconsin, by John C. Spooner of Wisconsin.

The convention then, at 7.25 p. m., adjourned.

Fourth Day—Friday, June 28, 1888, 11 A. M.

The convention proceeded at once to vote for a candidate for President, resulting as follows :

States and Territories.	Votes.	Alger.	Allison	Depew.	Gresham.	Harrison.	Sherman.	Blaine.
Alabama	20	6		1		1	12	
Arkansas	14				1	1	2	
California	16							16
Colorado	6		1		3	2		
Connecticut	12							1
Delaware	6					6		
Florida	8					1	4	
Georgia	24				1	2	19	
Illinois	44				44			
Indiana	30				1	29		
Iowa	26		26					
Kansas	18							1
Kentucky	26	4		1	5	4	12	
Louisiana	16	2	3	1	1		9	
Maine	12	3	2	3	1	2	1	
Maryland	16		2	1	1	5	5	2
Massachusetts	28	6	2	1	2	4	9	2
Michigan	26	26						
Minnesota	14	1		2	11			
Mississippi	18			1	3		14	
Missouri	32	6	3	2	11	3	6	1
Nebraska	10	3	3		1		3	
Nevada	6	3	3					
New Hampshire	8			4		4		
New Jersey	18							
New York	72			71				1
North Carolina	22	2		1	2	1	15	1
Ohio	46						46	
Oregon	6				4	1		1
Pennsylvania	60	1		5			29	2
Rhode Island	8		8					
South Carolina	18	3		1			11	
Tennessee	24	9	1	2	1	1	7	3
Texas	26	2	7		5	1	7	1
Vermont	8					8		
Virginia	24	3	3		1	5	11	
West Virginia	12	1			2	2	5	2
Wisconsin	22							
Arizona	2	2						
Dakota	10	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
District of Columbia	2							2
Idaho	2		1		1			
Montana	2		1		1			
New Mexico	2	1					1	
Utah	2		2					
Washington	6		1		3	1		
Wyoming	2		2					
Total	832	84	72	99	107	85	229	35

Florida cast 3, Pennsylvania 18, South Carolina 2, and Dakota 1 vote for Edwin H. Fitler; Connecticut 12, and Dakota 1 vote for Joseph R. Hawley; Arkansas 10, Kansas 17, and South Carolina 1 vote for John J. Ingalls: New Jersey 18, Pennsylvania 5, Texas 1, and Washington 1 vote for William Walter Phelps of New Jersey; Nebraska 1, Virginia 1, Wisconsin 22, and Dakota 1 vote for Jeremiah M. Rusk of Wisconsin; Georgia 1 and Massachusetts 2 votes for Robert T. Lincoln, and Texas 2 votes for William McKinley.

The name of Mr. Fitler was then withdrawn, and the second roll-call resulted as follows:

Sherman	249	Blaine	33
Alger	116	Rusk	20
Gresham	108	Phelps	18
Depew	99	Ingalls	16
Harrison	91	Lincoln	2
Allison	75	McKinley	3

A third ballot was then taken, on which Mr. Sherman lost 5, Gresham gained 15, Alger gained 6, Harrison gained 3, Depew lost 8, Allison gained 13, Blaine gained 2, Rusk lost 2, McKinley gained 5, Phelps lost 13, and Ingalls was not voted for. A recess was then taken, at 1.59 p. m., until 7 p. m.

After the recess, 7 p. m., Mr. Depew withdrew his name, and on motion of Mr. Hastings of Pennsylvania the convention, by yeas 531, nays 287 (roll-call), adjourned until Saturday, 10 a. m.

SATURDAY, JUNE 23, 1888, 10 A. M.

The fourth ballot was then taken, resulting:

Sherman	235	Blaine	42
Harrison	216	McKinley	11
Alger	135	Lincoln	1
Gresham	98	Foraker	1
Allison	88	Douglass	1

The fifth ballot was then taken, resulting as follows:

Sherman	224	Gresham	87
Harrison	212	Blaine	48
Alger	143	McKinley	14
Allison	99		

And then, on motion of Mr. Charles Foster of Ohio, at 12 o'clock, the convention took a recess until 4 p. m.

After the recess, 4 p. m., on motion of Mr. King of Maryland, the convention (at 4.26 p. m.) by yeas 492, nays 320 (roll-call), adjourned until Monday, at 11 a. m.

SIXTH DAY—MONDAY, JUNE 25, 1888, 11 A. M.

Before proceeding to another ballot Mr. Charles A. Boutelle of Maine, as a question of privilege, presented and read to the convention the following cablegrams:

EDINBURGH, *June* 24.

To Boutelle and Manley, Maine Delegation, Chicago: Earnestly request all friends to respect my Paris letter. BLAINE.

EDINBURGH, *June* 25.

(Same address): I think I have the right to ask my friends to respect my wishes and refrain from voting for me. Please make this and former dispatch public promptly. JAMES G. BLAINE.

The sixth ballot was then taken, resulting as follows:

Sherman	244	Allison	73
Harrison	231	Blaine	40
Alger	137	McKinley	12
Gresham	91	Joseph B. Foraker and Fred Grant, each	1.

The seventh ballot was then taken, with the following result:

Harrison	279	Allison	76
Sherman	230	McKinley	16
Alger	120	Blaine	15
Gresham	91	Lincoln	2

Foraker and Haymond one each.

Prior to taking the eighth ballot, Mr. Henderson of Iowa, as a question of privilege, withdrew the name of William B. Allison. The vote was then taken, with the following result:

States.	Votes.	Alger.	Gresham.	Harrison.	Sherman.
Alabama	20	10		3	5
Arkansas	14	14			
California	16			15	
Colorado	6			6	
Connecticut	12			12	
Delaware	6			6	
Florida	8	4		2	2
Georgia	24	3	1	10	9
Illinois	44		40	4	
Indiana	30		1	29	
Iowa	26	1	3	22	
Kansas	18	1		16	
Kentucky	26	1	2	15	7
Louisiana	16	4		9	3
Maine	12		1	5	3
Maryland	16			11	4
Massachusetts	28	1		25	2
Michigan	26	26			
Minnesota	14	1		13	
Mississippi	18		3	4	11
Missouri	32	15	8	7	2
Nebraska	10	1		9	
Nevada	6	2		4	
New Hampshire	8			8	
New Jersey	18			18	
New York	72			72	
North Carolina	22	3		8	11
Ohio	46			1	45
Oregon	6			6	
Pennsylvania	60			59	1
Rhode Island	8			8	
South Carolina	18	10		4	4
Tennessee	24	3		20	
Texas	26			26	
Vermont	8			8	
Virginia	24			15	9
West Virginia	12			12	
Wisconsin	22			22	
Territories				30	
Total		100	59	544	118

The chair thereupon announced the state of the vote as follows:

Harrison	544	Gresham	59
Sherman	118	Blaine	5
Alger	100	McKinley	4

Mr. Blaine received 2 votes from Alabama, 1 from Colorado, 1 from Kentucky, and 1 from Maryland. Mr. McKinley received 1 vote from Kansas and 3 from Maine.

A motion for a recess was rejected and the roll of states called for the presentation of names of candidates for Vice-President of the United States, when the following names were presented:

William O. Bradley of Kentucky, by Mr. George Denny of that state.

After speeches seconding said nomination, a recess was taken until 6 p. m.

After the recess, 6 p. m., the names of the following additional candidates for Vice-President were then presented:

William Walter Phelps of New Jersey, by William J. Sewell of that state.

Levi P. Morton of New York, by Warner Miller of that state.

The convention then proceeded to a ballot, resulting as follows:

States.	*Bradley.*	*Morton.*	*Phelps.*
Alabama	5	15	.....
Arkansas	.....	14	.....
California	. ....	13	3
Colorado	.....	6	.....
Connecticut	.....	12	.....
Delaware	.....	6	.....
Florida	4	4	.....
Georgia	18	1	.....
Illinois	2	27	15
Indiana	.....	30	.....
Iowa	2	10	14
Kansas	1	17	.....
Kentucky	25	.....	.....
Louisiana	3	11	2
Maine	.....	7	5
Maryland	1	12	3
Massachusetts	.....	28	.....
Michigan	9	15	2
Minnesota	.....	14	.....
Mississippi	3	5	3
Missouri	5	25	2
Nebraska	.....	5	5
Nevada	.....	6	.....
New Hampshire	.....	7	1
New Jersey	.....	.....	.....
New York	.....	72	.....
North Carolina	.....	14	5
Ohio	8	30	8
Oregon	.....	6	.....
Pennsylvania	.....	52	8
Rhode Island	.....	8	.....
South Carolina	.....	17	1
Tennessee	11	9	.....
Texas	.....	10	15
Vermont	.....	8	.....
Virginia	2	17	5
West Virginia	.....	12	.....
Wisconsin	1	18	3

The vote of the territorial delegates (30) was cast for Mr. Morton, save one delegate from Washington, who voted for Mr. Phelps. Four votes from Georgia and seven from Mississippi were cast for B. K. Bruce of Mississippi, and one vote (from Texas) was cast for Mr. Walter S. Thomas.

The result of the vote was then announced as follows:

Levi P. Morton	592	Blanche K. Bruce	11
William Walter Phelps	119	Walter S. Thomas	1
William O. Bradley	103		

The nominations were respectively made unanimous, and a committee of notification appointed.

The convention then adjourned.

Senator Matthew S. Quay of Pennsylvania was elected chairman and Joseph H. Manley of Maine secretary of the National Committee.

The Fifteenth National Convention of the Democratic party met at St. Louis, Mo., June 5–7, and nominated Grover Cleveland of New York for President, and Allen G. Thurman of Ohio for Vice-President.

The Prohibition Convention was held at Indianapolis on May 31, and nominated Clinton B. Fisk of New Jersey for President, and John A. Brooks of Missouri for Vice-President.

The Union Labor Convention was held at Cincinnati on May 16, and nominated Andrew J. Streeter of Illinois for President, and Charles L. Cunningham of Arkansas for Vice-President; and on the same day the United Labor Convention, in the same city, nominated Robert H. Cowdrey of Illinois and W. H. T. Wakefield of Kansas for the same offices.

The tariff was the great issue of the campaign. The Democrats stood on the lines of the "Mills bill" endorsed in their platform, while the Republicans stood by their protective plank and favored sweeping away the internal revenue system rather than surrender a point as to their declaration of being "uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection." The Murchison-Sackville-West correspondence confirmed the Republican declaration that Mr. Cleveland's election was desired by England or English interests, and Lord Sackville's recall did not stem the tide of public opinion in that respect.

The popular and electoral votes were as follows:

States	Popular Vote—1888.				Electoral Vote.	
	Harrison, Republican.	Cleveland, Democrat.	Streeter, Unit. Lab.	Fisk, Prohib.	Harrison.	Cleveland.
Alabama	57,197	117,320	.....	593	.....	10
Arkansas	58,752	85,962	10,613	614	.....	7
California	124,816	117,729	.....	5,761	8	.....
Colorado	50,774	37,567	1,266	2,191	3	.....
Connecticut	74,584	74,920	240	4,234	.....	6
Delaware	12,973	16,414	.....	404	.....	3
Florida	26,659	39,561	.....	403	.....	4
Georgia	40,446	100,449	.....	1,808	.....	12
Illinois	370,475	348,371	7,134	21,703	22	.....
Indiana	263,361	261,013	2,694	9,881	15	.....
Iowa	211,958	179,877	9,105	3,550	13	.....
Kansas	182,904	102,745	37,788	6,779	9	.....
Kentucky	155,134	183,800	.....	5,225	.....	13
Louisiana	30,701	85,026	39	127	.....	8
Maine	73,734	50,482	1,345	2,690	6	.....
Maryland	99,986	106,168	.....	4,767	.....	8
Massachusetts	183,892	151,855	.....	8,701	14	.....
Michigan	236,387	213,469	4,555	20,945	13	.....
Minnesota	142,492	104,385	1,097	15,311	7	.....
Mississippi	30,096	85,471	222	218	.....	9
Missouri	236,253	261,954	18,589	4,540	.....	16
Nebraska	108,425	80,552	4,226	9,429	5	.....
Nevada	7,238	5,326	.....	41	3	.....
New Hampshire	45,728	43,456	42	1,593	4	.....
New Jersey	144,360	151,508	.....	7,933	.....	9
New York	650,338	635,965	626	30,231	36	.....
North Carolina	134,784	147,902	.....	.....	.....	11
Ohio	416,054	396,455	3,496	24,356	23	.....
Oregon	33,291	26,522	363	1,677	3	.....
Pennsylvania	523,585	444,327	3,877	20,708	30	.....
Rhode Island	21,969	17,530	.....	1,251	4	.....
South Carolina	13,740	65,825	.....	.....	.....	9
Tennessee	138,988	158,779	.....	5,969	.....	12
Texas	88,280	234,883	29,459	4,749	.....	13
Vermont	45,192	16,788	.....	1,459	4	.....
Virginia	150,438	151,977	.....	1,678	.....	12
West Virginia	78,171	78,677	1,508	1,084	.....	6
Wisconsin	176,553	155,232	8,552	14,277	11	.....
Total	5,440,708	5,536,242	146,836	246,876	233	168

TENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA, JUNE 7–10, 1892.

HARRISON and REID.

The Tenth National Convention of the Republican party was called to order at 12.15 p. m., in Exposition Hall, at Minneapolis, Minnesota, on Tuesday, June 7, 1892, by Mr. James S. Clarkson, of Iowa, chairman of the National Committee, who, under instruction of said committee, recommended the appointment of Mr. J. Sloat Fassett of New York as temporary chairman, who was duly elected. Several secretaries, assistants, etc., were then named, after which General William J. Sewell of New Jersey submitted the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the roll of states and territories be now called, and that the chairman of each delegation announce the names of the persons selected to serve on the several committees, as follows, viz: Permanent Organization; Rules and Order of Business; Credentials, and Resolutions.

The roll was then called and said committees constituted.

The chair, prior to the adoption of the foregoing resolution, stated that without objection the convention would be governed by the rules of the preceding Republican national convention.

The convention then adjourned (at 1.55 p. m.) until 11 a. m. the following day.

SECOND DAY—WEDNESDAY, JUNE 8.

Mr. C. B. Lockwood of Idaho, from the Committee on Permanent Organization, made a report recommending Governor William McKinley, Jr., of Ohio, for permanent president, and Charles W. Johnson of Minnesota for secretary, and the temporary secretaries, etc., to be permanent, which report was adopted.

Representative Henry H. Bingham of Pennsylvania, from the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, submitted a code of rules for the government of the convention, which is herewith given in full, as a matter of convenient reference, viz:

Rule 1. The convention shall consist of a number of delegates from each state equal to double the number of its Senators and Representatives in Congress, six delegates from the territory of New Mexico, two from each of the remaining territories, and two from the District of Columbia.

Rule 2. The rules of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-first Congress shall be the rules of the convention so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the following rules.

Rule 3. When the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the delegates from any state, and the demand seconded by two or more states, and the call sustained by a majority of the convention, the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the rules of the House of Representatives in similar cases.

Rule 4. It shall be in order to lay on the table a proposed amendment to a pending measure, and such motion, if adopted, shall not carry with it or prejudice such measure.

Rule 5. Upon all subjects before the convention, the states shall be called in alphabetical order and next the territories and District of Columbia.

Rule 6. The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Resolutions is acted upon, and the Committee on Resolutions shall be disposed of before the convention proceeds to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President.

Rule 7. When a majority of the delegates of any two states shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by states, territories, and the District of Columbia, the secretary calling the roll of the states and territories and the District of Columbia in the order heretofore stated.

Rule 8. In making the nominations for President and Vice-President, in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with. When it appears at the close of any roll-call that any candidate has received a majority of all the votes to which the convention is entitled, the president of the convention shall announce the question to be: "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?" But if no candidate shall have received such majority, the chair shall direct the vote to be taken again, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes; and when any state has announced its vote it shall so stand unless in case of numerical error.

Rule 9. In the record of the votes by states, the vote of each state, territory, and District of Columbia shall be announced by the chairman; and in case the vote of any state, territory, or District of Columbia shall be divided, the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate, or for or against any proposition; but, if exception is taken by any delegate to the correctness of such announcement by the chairman of his delegation, the president of the convention shall direct the roll of members of such delegation to be called, and the result shall be recorded in accordance with the votes individually given.

Rule 10. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the convention, except in the presentation of the names of candidates.

Rule 11. A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each state, territory, and District of Columbia. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each state, territory, and District of Columbia shall name, through its chairman, a person who shall act as a member of such committee. Such committee shall issue the call for the meeting of the national convention six months, at least, before the time fixed for said meeting, and each Congressional district in the United States shall elect its delegates to the national convention in the same way as the nomination for a member of Congress is made in said district, and in territories the delegates to the convention shall be elected in the same way as a nomination of a delegate to Congress is made, and said national committee shall prescribe the mode for selecting the delegates for the District of Columbia. An alternate delegate for each delegate to the national convention, to act in case of the absence of the delegate, shall be elected in the same manner and at the same time as the delegate is elected. Delegates at large for each state, and their alternates, shall be elected by state conventions in their respective states.

Rule 12. The Republican National Committee is authorized and empowered to select an Executive Committee, to consist of nine members, who may or may not be members of the National Committee.

Rule 13. All resolutions relating to the platform shall be referred to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

Rule 14. No persons, except members of the several delegations and officers of the convention, shall be admitted to that section of the hall apportioned to delegates.

Rule 15. The convention shall proceed in the following order of business:

First. Report of the Committee on Credentials.

Second. Report of the Committee on Permanent Organization.

Third. Report of the Committee on Resolutions.

Fourth. Naming men [illegible] s of National Committee.

Fifth. Presentation of candidates for President.
Sixth. Balloting.
Seventh. Presentation of candidates for Vice-President.
Eighth. Balloting.

The Committee on Resolutions was then granted further time in which to report. The roll of states and territories was then called for members of the National Committee, after which the convention adjourned until 11 o'clock a. m. the following day.

Third Day—Thursday, June 9, 1892.

The Committee on Credentials, through General William Cogswell of Massachusetts, its chairman, reported progress and that it would be able to report at 8 p. m. The convention, on motion of General W. J. Sewell of New Jersey, then took a recess until that hour.

After the recess—8 P. M.

Mr. Cogswell, from the Committee on Credentials, made a verbal report. He stated that the committee had heard parties in twenty-four contested cases, and it recommended that the list submitted by the National Committee to the temporary organization be accepted as the list of duly accredited delegates and alternates, except in the following cases: In the Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Eighth Alabama districts, the committee reported in favor of the sitting members and that they retain their seats.

In the Ninth Alabama district the committee reported in favor of the contestants, Robert L. Houston and Alexr. L. Mathews. As to the contest for delegates at large from Alabama, the committee recommended that the contestants, Stephen N. Noble, Wm. H. Smith, Cornelius N. Dorsettle, and Anderson N. McEwen, be given seats.

In the Sixth Kentucky district the committee reported that the contestants, T. B. Matthews and M. Winstell, be given seats.

In the state of Louisiana the committee reported in favor of the sitting members, William Pitt Kellogg, Robert F. Guichard, Andrew Hero, Jr., and James M. Vance as delegates at large; in the First district, in favor of the contestants; in the Second and Fourth districts, in favor of the sitting members, and in the Sixth district, in favor of the contestants.

In the Fourth Maryland, in favor of the contestants.

In Mississippi the committee recommended that the regular delegates and contestants be seated, each with half a vote.

In the Seventh Mississippi, in favor of the sitting members.

In North Carolina, as to delegates at large, in favor of the sitting members.

In the Fourth North Carolina, in favor of John Nichols, the contestant.

In the Sixth North Carolina district, in favor of the sitting member.

In the Seventh North Carolina district the committee recommended that Messrs. Zebulon V. Walser, Wm. A. Bailey, and J. J. Mott be seated with the right to two-thirds of a vote each.

In the state of Texas the committee reported in favor of the sitting members.

In the District of Columbia the committee reported in favor of the sitting members.

In Utah Territory the committee recommended that the sitting members and the two contestants, Messrs. Goodwin and Walling, be seated with the right of one-half a vote each.

The committee also reported that if the convention should decide that the Indian Territory and Alaska were entitled to seats, it would report upon the claims of those purporting to be delegates. Mr. William C. Wallace of New York, on behalf of the minority, submitted a partial report, signed by himself and David H. Lane of Pennsylvania, J. M. Green of South Dakota, J. T. Settle of Tennessee, M. W. Stewart of Arizona, Andrew Gleason of the District of Columbia, F. B. Brandagee of Connecticut, A. T. Bliss of Michigan, W. E. Cramer of Ohio, J. M. Shoup of Idaho, B. Clark Wheeler of Colorado, R. C. Dunn of Minnesota, A. E. Smith of Wisconsin, F. A. Cage of Louisiana, and Daniel N. Cooper of Alabama, reviewing the contest from the state of Alabama for delegates at large and from the Ninth district. After reciting the facts in said cases, the minority reported that B. M. Lang, William Vaughan, Iverson Dawson, and H. V. Cashin were the duly elected delegates at large from Alabama, and that in the Ninth district James W. Hughes and W. Harvey were elected delegates, and recommended that their names be placed on the permanent roll of the convention.

Mr. Frank J. Cannon submitted a further minority report in respect to Utah, signed by O. J. Salisbury of Utah and Frank W. Mundell of Wyoming, in favor of seating O. J. Salisbury and Frank J. Cannon as delegates from Utah. After debate, the previous question was ordered, and under its operation the report of the committee as to uncontested seats was agreed to. The question was then put on the adoption of the minority report submitted by Mr. Wallace as a substitute for the report of the committee. The state of Alabama was reported as ayes 17, nays 5. The question of order was raised by Messrs. Hiscock and Depew of New York, that as the

majority report turned out nine of the delegates placed on the roll by the National Committee and put in nine others, the sitting delegates had no right to vote on the pending question. The chair (Governor McKinley) stated that, as he understood it, every delegate in the convention seated by the National Committee was entitled to the privileges of the convention "until by a majority vote he shall have been unseated, and these men have not yet been unseated." The chair further stated that a more serious question was whether a delegate could vote in his own case. The chair also stated that the convention was proceeding under the rules of the 51st Congress (so far as applicable to a National Convention), one of which, Rule 8, provided that "every member shall be present within the hall during its sittings, and shall vote on each question put, unless, on motion made before division or the commencement of the roll-call and decided without debate, he shall be excused, or unless he has a direct personal or pecuniary interest in the event of such question."

After discussion of the question, Mr. Richard W. Austin of Alabama withdrew six votes, including the four delegates at large, from that state. The chair then announced that the delegates at large would be entitled to vote on the contest as to district delegates, and the district delegates would be entitled to vote on the contest as to delegates at large.

The roll-call being completed, the chair announced that on the motion to substitute the minority for the majority report in the Alabama case as to the delegates at large, the yeas were 423½ and the nays 463. A motion to adjourn was lost, and the question being put on the adoption of the majority report, the roll was called (on demand of Mr. Quay of Pennsylvania), resulting yeas 475, nays 365½. Mr. Joseph B. Foraker, from the Committee on Resolutions, then submitted the following report:

PLATFORM.

The representatives of the Republicans of the United States, assembled in general convention on the shores of the Mississippi river, the everlasting bond of an indestructible republic, whose most glorious chapter of history is the record of the Republican party, congratulate their countrymen on the majestic march of the nation under the banners inscribed with the principles of our platform of 1888, vindicated by victory at the polls and prosperity in our fields, workshops, and mines, and make the following declaration of principles:

We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican Congress.

We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home. We assert that the price of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the tariff act of 1890.

We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives to destroy our tariff laws by piecemeal, as is manifested by their attacks upon wool, lead and lead ores, the chief products of a number of states, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon.

We point to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity, under which our export trade has vastly increased and new and enlarged markets have been opened for the products of our farms and workshops. We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic party to this practical business measure, and claim that, executed by Republican administration, our present laws will eventually give us control of the trade of the world.

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as a standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the government shall be as good as any other.

We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our government to secure an international conference, to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, this sovereign right, guaranteed by the constitution. The free and honest popular ballot, the just and equal representation of all the people, as well as their just and equal protection under the laws, are the foundation of our Republican institutions, and the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every state.

We denounce the continued inhuman outrages perpetrated upon American citizens for political reasons in certain southern states of the union.

We favor the extension of our foreign commerce, the restoration of our merchant marine by home-built ships, and the creation of a navy for the protection of our national interests and the honor of our flag; the maintenance of the most friendly relations with all foreign powers, entangling alliances with none; and the protection of the rights of our fishermen.

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe doctrine, and believe in the achievement of the manifest destiny of the Republic in its broadest sense.

We favor the enactment of more stringent laws and regulations for the restriction of criminal, pauper, and contract immigration.

We favor efficient legislation by Congress to protect the life and limb of employés of transportation companies engaged in carrying on interstate commerce, and recommend legislation by the respective states that will protect employés engaged in state commerce, in mining and in manufacturing.

The Republican party has always been the champion of the oppressed, and recognizes the dignity of manhood, irrespective of faith, color or nationality; it sympathizes with the cause of home rule in Ireland, and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.

The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people, and the maintenance of freedom among men. We therefore declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, of speech and press, and approve all agencies and instrumentalities which contribute to the education of the children of the land; but, while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty, we are opposed to any union of church and state.

We reaffirm our opposition, declared in the Republican platform of 1888, to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens. We heartily indorse the action already taken upon this subject, and ask for such further legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in existing laws, and to render their enforcement more complete and effective

We approve the policy of extending to towns, villages, and rural communities the advantages of the free delivery service now enjoyed by the larger cities of the country, and reaffirm the declaration contained in the Republican platform of 1888 pledging the reduction of letter postage to one cent at the earliest possible moment consistent with the maintenance of the post-office department and the highest class of postal service.

We commend the spirit and evidence of reform in the civil service, and the wise and consistent enforcement by the Republican party of the laws regulating the same.

The construction of the Nicaragua canal is of the highest importance to the American people, both as a measure of national defense and to build up and maintain American commerce, and it should be controlled by the United States Government.

We favor the admission of the remaining territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the territories and of the United States. All the federal officers appointed for the territories should be selected from *bona fide* residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

We favor cession, subject to the homstead laws, of the arid public lands, to the states and territories in which they lie, under such congressional restrictions as to disposition, reclamation, and occupancy, by settlers, as will secure the maximum benefits to the people.

The World's Columbian Exposition is a great national undertaking, and Congress should promptly enact such reasonable legislation in aid thereof as will insure a discharge of the expenses and obligations incident thereto, and the attainment of results commensurate with the dignity and progress of the nation.

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

Ever mindful of the services and sacrifices of the men who saved the life of the nation, we pledge anew to the veteran soldiers of the Republic a watchful care and recognition of their just claims upon a grateful people.

We commend the able, patriotic, and thoroughly American administration of President Harrison. Under it the country has enjoyed remarkable prosperity, and the dignity and honor of the nation, at home and abroad, have been faithfully maintained, and we offer the record of pledges kept as a guarantee of faithful performance in the future.

The report was adopted without debate or division, after which the convention adjourned until the following day (Friday), at 11 a. m.

Fourth Day—Friday, June 10, 1892.

The report of the Committee on Credentials as to the Ninth Alabama district was then adopted without division. The report of the committee on the Utah contest was then adopted.

On motion, two delegates each from Alaska and the Indian Territory were then admitted, and the Committee on Credentials made a report naming the delegates entitled to seats, which report was adopted.

The roll of states was then called for presentation of the names of candidates for President. When Colorado was called, Senator Edward O. Wolcott presented the name of James G. Blaine of Maine, and the name of Benjamin Harrison of Indiana was presented by Richard W. Thompson of that state. No other names being presented, the convention proceeded, after seconding speeches, to a ballot. When the State of Ohio was called, its vote was announced as 2 for Harrison, and 44 for McKinley. The chairman (Governor McKinley) challenged the accuracy of the vote. Mr. Joseph B. Foraker, and Mr. Jacob A. Ambler of Ohio, made the point of order that by reason of his occupancy of the chair, Governor McKinley ceased to be a member of the Ohio delegation, and that his alternate was acting in his place, which point of order was overruled by Chairman McKinley, who directed the secretary to call the roll of Ohio, on which he voted for General Harrison; the

remaining (45) votes being cast for McKinley. The call proceeded as far as Texas, and the announcement was made that 22 of the 30 votes of that state were cast for Benjamin Harrison, when the chairman,—having called Mr. Elliott F. Shepard of New York to the chair,—took the floor and moved that the rules be suspended and Benjamin Harrison be nominated for President by acclamation. Mr. Wolcott made the point of order that the motion was not in order, as the call of the roll of states was in progress and could not be interrupted. Mr. C. B. Hart of West Virginia made the additional point of order that every delegate had the right to vote and desired to do so. The chair (under the advice of the secretary of the convention, Mr. Charles W. Johnson, then chief clerk of the Senate) held the motion to be in order under the rules of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-first Congress. At this point Governor McKinley withdrew his motion and the roll-call was concluded, resulting as follows:

STATES.	No of Delegates.	Harrison.	Blaine.	McKinley.
Alabama	22	15	.....	7
Arkansas	16	15	.....	1
California	18	8	9	1
Colorado	8	.....	8	.....
Connecticut	12	4	.....	8
Delaware	6	4	1	1
Florida	8	8	.....	.....
Georgia	26	26	.....	.....
Idaho	6	.....	6	.....
Illinois	48	34	14	.....
Indiana	30	30	.....	.....
Iowa	26	20	5	1
Kansas	20	11	.....	9
Kentucky	26	22	2	1
Louisiana	16	8	8	.....
Maine	12	.....	12	.....
Maryland	16	14	.....	2
Massachusetts	30	18	1	11
Michigan	28	7	2	19
Minnesota	18	8	9	1
Mississippi	18	$13\frac{1}{3}$	$4\frac{1}{3}$	.....
Missouri	34	28	4	2
Montana	6	5	1	.....
Nebraska	16	15	.....	1
Nevada	6	.....	6	.....
New Hampshire	8	4	2	.....
New Jersey	20	18	2	.....
New York	72	27	35	10
North Dakota	6	2	4	.....
North Carolina	22	$17\frac{3}{3}$	$2\frac{2}{3}$	1
Ohio	46	1	.....	45
Oregon	8	1	.....	7
Pennsylvania	64	19	3	42
Rhode Island	8	1	5	1
South Carolina	18	13	3	2
South Dakota	8	8	.....	.....
Tennessee	24	17	4	3
Texas	30	22	6	.....
Vermont	8	8	.....	.....
Virginia	24	9	13	2
Washington	8	1	6	1
West Virginia	12	12	.....	.....
Wisconsin	24	19	2	3
Wyoming	6	4	2	.....
Territories.				
Alaska	2	2	.....	.....
Arizona	2	1	1	.....
Indian Territory	2	1	1	.....
Oklahoma	2	2	.....	.....
New Mexico	6	6	.....	.....
Utah	2	2	.....	.....
District of Columbia	2	.....	2	.....
Total	905	$535\frac{1}{6}$	$182\frac{4}{6}$	182

Four votes were cast for Thomas B. Reed (viz: 1 from New Hampshire, 1 from Rhode Island and 2 from Texas), and 1 vote was cast (from New Hampshire) for Robert T. Lincoln.

Total number of delegates	905
Necessary to a choice	453
Benjamin Harrison of Indiana	535$\frac{1}{6}$
James G. Blaine of Maine	182$\frac{1}{6}$
William McKinley of Ohio	182
Thomas B. Reed of Maine	4
Robert T. Lincoln of Illinois	1
Absent or not voting	2

The nomination was then made unanimous, after which the convention (at 4.45) took a recess until 8 p. m.

AFTER THE RECESS, 8 P. M.

The roll of states was then called for the presentation of names of candidates for Vice-President. When New York was reached, the name of Whitelaw Reid of that state was presented by Edmund O'Connor. When Tennessee was reached, Mr. J. T. Settle presented the name of Thomas B. Reed of Maine. On motion of Mr. John R. Hutchinson of West Virginia (the call having been completed), the rules were suspended and Whitelaw Reid declared nominated by acclamation. Mr. Chauncey M. Depew submitted the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That in the organization of the American Republican College League, an event significant in American politics, the young Republicans of the colleges and universities of the nation have merited our congratulations and highest commendation, and we welcome them to the ranks of the party in an active participation in the affairs of state.

After the transaction of some routine business, the convention adjourned *sine die*.

Thomas H. Carter of Montana was elected Chairman and Louis E. McComas of Maryland Secretary of the National Committee.

The Democratic National Convention was held at Chicago, June 21, 22, 1892, and nominated Grover Cleveland of New York on the first ballot, which resulted as follows: Whole number of votes, 909½. Necessary for a choice (two-thirds), 607; Grover Cleveland, 617⅓ David B. Hill of New York, 114; Horace Boies of Iowa, 103; Arthur P. Gorman of Maryland, 36½; Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, 16⅔; John G. Carlisle of Kentucky, 14; and 8 scattering votes. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois was then nominated for Vice-President.

The National Prohibition party met at Cincinnati on June 29th, and nominated John Bidwell of California for President, and J. B. Cranfill of Texas for Vice-President.

The People's party held a convention at Omaha, Nebraska, on July 2d, and on July 4th nominated James B. Weaver of Iowa for President, and James G. Field of Virginia for Vice-President.

The popular and electoral votes cast were as follows:

	States.	1892.—Popular Vote.					1892. Electoral Vote.			
		Harrison. *Rep.*	Cleveland. *Dem.*	Bidwell. *Pro.*	Weaver. *Peo*	Plurality.*	Total Vote.	Cleveland.	Harrison.	Weaver.	
1	Alabama	9,107	138,138	239	85,181	**52,957**	234,746	11	.....	.....	1
2	Arkansas	46,974	87,752	113	11,831	**40,950**	147,929	8	.....	.....	2
3	California	118,927	118,151	8,096	25,311	**147**	269,608	8	1	.....	3
4	Colorado	38,620	.....	1,638	*a*53,584	**14,958**	93,848	.....	.....	4	4
5	Connecticut	77,032	82,395	4,025	809	**5,370**	164,776	6	.....	.....	5
6	Delaware	18,077	18,581	565	.....	**498**	37,242	3	.....	.....	6
7	Florida	.....	30,143	475	4,843	**25,300**	35,461	4	.....	.....	7
8	Georgia	48,305	129,386	988	42,939	**81,056**	223,946	13	.....	.....	8
9	Idaho	8,599	2	288	*a*10,520	**1,921**	19,407	.....	.....	3	9
10	Illinois	399,288	426,281	25,870	22,207	**26,993**	873,646	24	.....	.....	10
11	Indiana	255,615	262,740	13,044	22,198	**7,125**	553,613	15	.....	.....	11
12	Iowa	219,373	196,367	6,322	20,616	23,728	442,159	.....	13	.....	12
13	Kansas	157,241	.....	4,539	*a*163,111	**5,874**	322,887	.....	.....	10	13
14	Kentucky	135,441	175,461	6,442	23,500	**40,020**	340,844	13	.....	.....	14
15	Louisiana	.....	87,922	.....	*b*27,930	**59,692**	115,552	8	.....	.....	15
16	Maine	62,878	48,024	3,062	2,381	14,979	116,414	.....	6	.....	16
17	Maryland	92,736	113,866	5,877	796	**21,130**	213,275	8	.....	.....	17
18	Massachusetts	202,814	176,813	7,539	3,210	26,101	391,028	.....	15	.....	18
19	Michigan	222,708	202,296	14,069	19,892	20,412	450,237	5	9	.....	19
20	Minnesota	122,736	100,579	14,017	30,398	21,903	377,703	.....	9	.....	20
21	Mississippi	1,406	40,237	995	10,256	**30,186**	52,780	9	.....	.....	21
22	Missouri	226,762	268,628	4,331	41,183	**41,480**	540,860	17	.....	.....	22
23	Montana	18,838	17,534	549	7,259	1,270	44,315	.....	3	.....	23
24	Nebraska	87,227	24,943	4,902	13,134	4,079	200,192	.....	8	.....	24
25	Nevada	2,822	711	89	7,267	**4,453**	10,878	.....	.....	3	25
26	New Hampshire	45,658	42,081	1,297	292	3,547	89,328	.....	4	.....	26
27	New Jersey	156,080	171,066	8,131	969	**14,974**	337,547	10	.....	.....	27
28	New York	609,350	654,868	38,190	16,429	**45,518**	1,336,793	36	.....	.....	28
29	North Carolina	100,346	132,951	2,636	44,732	**32,609**	280,665	11	.....	.....	29
30	North Dakota	17,519	.....	899	*a*17,650	**18**	36,136	1	1	1	30
31	Ohio	405,187	404,115	26,012	14,850	1,072	850,299	1	22	.....	31
32	Oregon	35,002	14,243	2,281	26,875	8,047	78,491	.....	3	1	32
33	Pennsylvania	516,011	452,264	25,123	8,714	63,747	1,003,010	.....	32	.....	33
34	Rhode Island	27,069	24,335	1,654	227	2,637	53,188	.....	4	.....	34
35	South Carolina	13,384	54,698	.....	2,407	**41,347**	70,444	9	.....	.....	35
36	South Dakota	34,888	9,081	.....	26,512	8,344	70,617	.....	4	.....	36
37	Tennessee	99,973	136,477	4,851	23,622	**38,543**	267,503	12	.....	.....	37
38	Texas	81,444	239,148	2,165	99,638	**157,704**	422,458	15	.....	.....	38
39	Vermont	37,992	16,325	1,415	.....	21,667	55,774	.....	4	.....	39
40	Virginia	113,256	163,977	2,738	12,274	**50,715**	292,252	12	.....	.....	40
41	Washington	36,470	29,844	2,542	19,105	6,657	87,968	.....	4	.....	41
42	West Virginia	80,285	84,468	2,145	4,166	**4,174**	171,071	6	.....	.....	42
43	Wisconsin	170,791	177,335	13,132	9,909	**6,544**	371,676	12	.....	.....	43
44	Wyoming	8,454	.....	530	*a*7,722	732	16,706	.....	3	.....	44
	Total	5,175,202	5,554,226	262,904	1,041,577	.....	12,150 274	277	145	22	

* Republican pluralities in roman ; Opposition pluralities in heavy-face. † Curtis (American) received 1,591 votes ; Cowdrey (United Labor) received 3,073 votes ; 1892, Wing (Socialist) had 649 votes in Massachusetts, 2,335 in Georgia, 336 in Maine, 1,337 in New Jersey, and 17,956 in New York ; (*a*) Fusion Peo. and Dem.; (*b*) Fusion Rep. and Peo.

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ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, JUNE 16–18, 1896.

McKINLEY and HOBART.

The Eleventh National Convention of the Republican party convened in St. Louis, Missouri, June 16, 1896, and was called to order at 12.20 p. m. by Senator Thomas H. Carter of Montana, chairman of the Republican National Committee. By direction of that committee, Senator Carter nominated as the temporary chairman of the convention the Hon. Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana, which nomination was unanimously approved by the convention.

Senator Carter, also, by direction of the National Committee, recommended the election of Charles W. Johnson of Minnesota as secretary, and T. E. Byrnes of Minnesota as sergeant-at-arms, with three assistant secretaries, four reading clerks, and a tally clerk. The persons recommended were unanimously elected.

Mr. Wm. Lamb of Virginia submitted the following resolutions, which were agreed to, viz:

Resolved, That until the permanent organization is effected, this convention will be governed by the rules of the last Republican National Convention.

Resolved, That the roll-call of states and territories be now called, and that the chairman of each delegation announce the names of persons selected to serve on the several committees as follows: Permanent Organization; Rules and Order of Business: Credentials and Resolutions, and that all resolutions in relation to the platform of the Republican party be referred to such committee without debate.

The roll of states was then called, and the committees named in Mr. Lamb's resolution were formed. After the introduction and reference to the Committee on Resolutions of sundry resolutions and papers, on motion of General Charles H. Grosvenor of Ohio the convention adjourned until the following day, at 10 a. m.

SECOND DAY—WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1896.

After the transaction of some unimportant routine business, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, a member of the Committee on Resolutions, stated on its behalf that the platform was not completed, and asked permission for the committee to sit during the session of the convention, which was granted. The regular order

of business was proceeded with, and the Committee on Credentials called, without response. Senator Sewell of New Jersey asked unanimous consent that the reports of the Committees on Permanent Organization and Rules might then be made, which request was objected to. A motion made by Representative Wellington of Maryland for a recess until 2 p. m. was rejected. Mr. Wellington asked unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules might then report, which request was also objected to. Several resolutions were introduced and referred to the Committee on Rules. Senator Sewell of New Jersey then moved that the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization be received, which motion was seconded and adopted. Mr. Wellington of Maryland made the point of order that no business could be transacted save by unanimous consent. The chairman overruled the point of order on the ground that the convention, by vote, had decided to receive the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization. Mr. Littlefield of Maine made the further point of order that the convention was acting under the rules of the last National Convention, which provided that the first thing in order should be the report of the Committee on Credentials, and that the order of business thus established could not be suspended in this way.

The chairman overruled the point of order on the ground that the Committee on Credentials was duly called and did not respond; that the Committee on Permanent Organization, being called, was not ready to report; that a motion for a recess was made and voted down; that a motion was then made to receive the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization,—no point of order being made against it,—which said motion prevailed, and that as the convention itself had voted to receive the report, it was now the only thing in order. Mr. Thomas McEwen, Jr., of New Jersey, chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization, thereupon reported the name of Senator John M. Thurston of Nebraska as permanent chairman of the convention, with a list of vice-presidents—one from each state and territory—and also in favor of making the temporary officials of the convention permanent.

Mr. Mudd of Maryland made the point of order that while the temporary convention had voted to receive the report of the Committee on Credentials, it could not be acted upon until the convention had ascertained and determined its membership by means of a report of the Committee on Credentials and action thereon. The chair overruled the point of order, and stated the question to be upon the adoption of the report of the Committee on Permanent

Organization. The question was put, and the chair declared the motion carried. Mr. Tuck of Maryland demanded a division by states. Mr. Mudd made objection to the adoption of the report in that manner, which objection the chair overruled and declared the report adopted. The permanent chairman (Senator Thurston) was then escorted to the platform by Senator Sewell of New Jersey and Representative Sereno E. Payne of New York, and made a brief address, after which the convention, on motion of Governor Bushnell of Ohio, adjourned until 2 p. m.

After the Recess.

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m. After the presentation of historic gavels, one from the wood of a log taken from the cabin occupied by Abraham Lincoln, in 1832, at New Salem, Ills., and another of ashwood, cut from the old home of Henry Clay, the Committee on Credentials made its report through its chairman, Hon. J. Franklin Fort, of New Jersey. The report of the committee was read by Chairman Fort. Its conclusions are substantially as follows: From the State of Delaware there were two full sets of delegates. The contestants were designated as the "Anthony Higgins delegation" and the "J. Edward Addicks delegation." The committee recommended the seating of what was termed the "Higgins delegation." In the State of Texas there was a contest for delegates-at-large, one of the contested delegations being known as the "Cuney delegation" and the other as the "Grant delegation." The committee recommended that the delegates and alternates-at-large from Texas headed by John Grant be admitted to the convention as the regular delegates. The roll of delegates and alternates to the convention from the several states and territories and the District of Columbia, as prepared by the National Committee for the temporary organization, was approved and recommended as the permanent roll of delegates and alternates of the convention.

Representative William P. Hepburn of Iowa submitted a minority report signed by himself and seven other members of the Committee on Credentials.

The minority report was a verbal one, made by Mr. Hepburn, who, after setting forth the grounds of dissent from the action taken by the committee in most of the contested election cases, concluded by recommending that the delegation from the State of Delaware headed by J. Edward Addicks, with their alternates, be seated; that the delegation from the State of Texas headed by N. W. Cuney,

with their alternates, be seated, and that the other cases in which hearing, up to that time, had been denied, be recommitted to the Committee on Credentials with instructions to examine the same and report upon the said cases. Upon the conclusion of Mr. Hepburn's presentation of the minority report, Mr. Fort demanded the previous question on the adoption of the report and the views of the minority, as submitted by Mr. Hepburn. The chairman stated that a vote would be taken on each part of the report separately, if a separation was demanded, and that, under the rules of the convention, 20 minutes on a side would be given to debate. The motion for the previous question was seconded by Senator Quay of Pennsylvania, and the chair directed the roll to be called. Representative Hepburn, at this point, made the point of order that several State delegations were contested and had no right to vote on the pending question, which point of order was overruled by the chair.

In response to parliamentary inquiries, the chair ruled that if the previous question was ordered the vote would be taken in order upon each separate proposition contained in the two reports; that if no demand be made for such separation, the vote would first be taken upon the minority proposition, and then upon the report of the committee (majority). When the vote as to the State of Alabama was announced, Mr. Hepburn made the point of order that, as the pending question involved the right to contest the right to seats of ten or more of the delegates from that state, that the delegations from those states having a personal interest in the question at issue had not the right to vote.

The chair overruled the point of order and held that the objection was not well taken as to the action and order of the previous question, there being no question of personal interest involved in ordering the said question. The demand for the previous question was sustained by yeas 568½, and nays 339½. The debate thereupon proceeded for 40 minutes, under the rules. At its close, the question was put on the motion of the minority in favor of seating the Addicks delegation, which motion was lost. The chair then put the question on the adoption of so much of the minority report as recommended the seating of the Cuney delegates from Texas, which motion was also lost. The question was then put upon the motion to adopt the balance of the minority report referring the contests as to other delegates back to the committee, which motion was rejected. The question then recurred on the adoption of the report of the committee, which was put by the chair and adopted without division

Representative Henry H. Bingham of Pennsylvania, chairman of the Committee on Rules, was then recognized, and submitted the report of said committee. The code reported was substantially that of the preceding convention, 1892 (page 92 of this compilation), the only changes of importance being in rules 1 and 16, the rules of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-fourth Congress being adopted as the rules of the convention, so far as they were applicable and not inconsistent with the rules reported. Rule 1, as reported, is as follows:

1. The convention shall consist of a number of delegates from each state equal to double the number of each senator and representative in Congress, six delegates each from the Territories of Arizona, Indian Territory, New Mexico, and Oklahoma; four from Alaska, and two from the District of Columbia.

Rule 16, fixing the order of business, was amended by inserting the following as clause 9:

9. Call of roll of states, territories, Alaska and the District of Columbia for names of delegates to serve respectively on committees to notify the nominees for President and Vice-President of their selection for said office.

After an explanatory statement by General Bingham in respect to the report, which had been printed and circulated throughout the convention, the question was put on its adoption, and it was agreed to by a unanimous vote. On motion of Representative Charles H. Grosvenor of Ohio, the convention then adjourned until 10 a. m. the following day.

Third Day—Thursday, June 18, 1896.

The convention was called to order at 10.32 a. m. by Chairman Thurston, who recognized ex-Governor and Senator-elect Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. Mr. Foraker thereupon took the platform, submitted and read the following report, or platform, viz:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their representatives in national convention, appealing for the popular and historical justification of their claims to the matchless achievements of the thirty years of Republican rule, earnestly and confidently address themselves to the awakened intelligence, experience, and conscience of their countrymen in the following declaration of facts and principles.

For the first time since the civil war the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequences of full and unrestricted Democratic control of the Government. It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster. In administrative management it has ruthlessly sacrificed indispensable revenue, entailed an unceasing deficit, eked out ordinary current expenses with borrowed money, piled up the public debt by $262,000,000 in time of peace, forced an adverse balance of trade, kept a perpetual menace hanging over the redemption fund, pawned American credit to alien syndicates, and reversed all the measures and results of successful Republican rule.

In the broad effect of its policy it has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise, and crippled American production, while stimulating foreign production

for the American market. Every consideration of public safety and individual interest demands that the Government shall be rescued from the hands of those who have shown themselves incapable to conduct it without disaster at home and dishonor abroad, and shall be restored to the party which for thirty years administered it with unequaled success and prosperity, and in this connection we heartily indorse the wisdom, patriotism and the success of the Administration of President Harrison.

TARIFF.

We renew and emphasize our allegiance to the policy of protection as the bulwark of American industrial independence and the foundation of American development and prosperity. This true American policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industry; it puts the burden of revenue on foreign goods; it secures the American market for the American producer; it upholds the American standard of wages for the American workingman; it put the factory by the side of the farm, and makes the American farmer less dependent on foreign demand and price; it diffuses general thrift, and founds the strength of all on the strength of each. In its reasonable application it is just, fair, and impartial; equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, to sectional discrimination and individual favoritism.

We denounce the present Democratic tariff as sectional, injurious to the public credit, and destructive to business enterprise. We demand such an equitable tariff on foreign imports which come into competition with American products as will not only furnish adequate revenue for the necessary expenses of the Government, but will protect American labor from degradation to the wage level of other lands. We are not pledged to any particular schedules. The question of rates is a practical question, to be governed by the conditions of the time and of production; the ruling and uncompromising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industry. The country demands a right settlement, and then it wants rest.

RECIPROCITY.

We believe the repeal of the reciprocity arrangements negotiated by the last Republican Administration was a national calamity, and we demand their renewal and extension on such terms as will equalize our trade with other nations, remove the restrictions which now obstruct the sale of American products in the ports of other countries, and secure enlarged markets for the products of our farms, forests and factories.

Protection and reciprocity are twin measures of Republican policy and go hand in hand. Democratic rule has recklessly struck down both, and both must be re-established. Protection for what we produce; free admission for the necessaries of life which we do not produce; reciprocity agreements of mutual interests which gain open markets for us in return for our open markets to others. Protection builds up domestic industry and trade, and secures our own market for ourselves; reciprocity builds up foreign trade and finds an outlet for our surplus.

SUGAR.

We condemn the present Administration for not keeping faith with the sugar producers of this country. The Republican party favors such protection as will lead to the production on American soil of all the sugar which the American people use, and for which they pay other countries more than $100,000,000 annually.

WOOL AND WOOLENS.

To all our products—to those of the mine and the fields as well as to those of the shop and the factory—to hemp, to wool, the product of the great industry of sheep husbandry, as well as to the finished woolens of the mills—we promise the most ample protection.

MERCHANT MARINE.

We favor restoring the American policy of discriminating duties for the upbuilding of our merchant marine and the protection of our shipping in the foreign carrying trade, so that American ships—the product of American labor, employed in American shipyards, sailing under the stars and stripes, and manned, officered, and owned by Americans—may regain the carrying of our foreign commerce.

FINANCE.

The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879; since then every dollar has been as good as gold.

We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are, therefore, opposed to the free coinage of

silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

PENSIONS.

The veterans of the Union Army deserve and should receive fair treatment and generous recognition. Whenever practicable they should be given the preference in the matter of employment, and they are entitled to the enactment of such laws as are best calculated to secure the fulfillment of the pledges made to them in the dark days of the country's peril. We denounce the practice in the Pension Bureau, so recklessly and unjustly carried on by the present Administration, of reducing pensions and arbitrarily dropping names from the rolls as deserving the severest condemnation of the American people.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Our foreign policy should be at all times firm, vigorous and dignified, and all our interests in the Western Hemisphere carefully watched and guarded. The Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States, and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them: the Nicaraguan Canal should be built, owned and operated by the United States; and by the purchase of the Danish Islands we should secure a proper and much-needed naval station in the West Indies.

ARMENIAN MASSACRES.

The massacres in Armenia have aroused the deep sympathy and just indignation of the American people, and we believe that the United States should exercise all the influence it can properly exert to bring these atrocities to an end. In Turkey American residents have been exposed to the gravest dangers and American property destroyed. There and everywhere American citizens and American property must be absolutely protected at all hazards and at any cost.

MONROE DOCTRINE.

We reassert the Monroe doctrine in its full extent, and we reaffirm the right of the United States to give the doctrine effect by responding to the appeal of any American State for friendly intervention in case of European encroachment. We have not interfered and shall not interfere with the existing possessions of any European power in this hemisphere, but these possessions must not on any pretext be extended. We hopefully look forward to the eventual withdrawal of the European powers from this hemisphere, and to the ultimate union of all English-speaking parts of the continent by the free consent of its inhabitants.

CUBA.

From the hour of achieving their own independence the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American people to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty.

The Government of Spain, having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the Government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.

THE NAVY.

The peace and security of the Republic and the maintenance of its rightful influence among the nations of the earth demand a naval power commensurate with its position and responsibility. We therefore favor the continued enlargement of the Navy and a complete system of harbor and seacoast defenses.

FOREIGN IMMIGRATION.

For the protection of the quality of our American citizenship and of the wages of our workingmen against the fatal competition of low-priced labor, we demand that the immigration laws be thoroughly enforced, and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States those who can neither read nor write.

CIVIL SERVICE.

The civil-service law was placed on the statute book by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable.

FREE BALLOT.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast.

LYNCHINGS.

We proclaim our unqualified condemnation of the uncivilized and barbarous practice, well known as lynching or killing of human beings suspected or charged with crime, without process of law.

NATIONAL ARBITRATION.

We favor the creation of a national board of arbitration to settle and adjust differences which may arise between employers and employees engaged in interstate commerce.

HOMESTEADS.

We believe in an immediate return to the free-homestead policy of the Republican party, and urge the passage by Congress of a satisfactory free-homestead measure such as has already passed the House, and is now pending in the Senate.

TERRITORIES.

We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States. All the Federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from bona fide residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

ALASKA.

We believe the citizens of Alaska should have representation in the Congress of the United States, to the end that needful legislation may be intelligently enacted.

TEMPERANCE.

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

RIGHTS OF WOMEN.

The Republican party is mindful of the rights and interests of women. Protection of American industries includes equal opportunities, equal pay for equal work, and protection to the home. We favor the admission of women to wider spheres of usefulness, and welcome their co-operation in rescuing the country from Democratic and Populist mismanagement and misrule.

Such are the principles and policies of the Republican party. By these principles we will abide and these policies we will put into execution. We ask for them the considerate judgment of the American people. Confident alike in the history of our great party and in the justice of our cause, we present our platform and our candidates in the full assurance that the election will bring victory to the Republican party and prosperity to the people of the United States.

At the close of the reading of the report—or platform—Senator Henry M. Teller of Colorado was recognized on behalf of the minority of the Committee on Resolutions. Mr. Teller thereupon submitted the following as a substitute for the financial plank of the platform, viz:

The Republican party authorizes both the use of gold and silver as equal standard money, and pledges its power to secure the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at our mints at the ratio of 16 parts of silver to 1 of gold.

After extended debate on the report of the committee and the proposed substitute, Mr. Foraker moved that the substitute be laid on the table, which motion was seconded by Senator Lodge of Massachusetts. The call of the roll of states was demanded by Colorado and seconded by the States of Montana and Nevada. The roll of states was thereupon called, the chairman announcing the result, as follows, viz:

State.	Ayes.	Noes.	State.	Ayes.	Noes.
Alabama	15	7	New York	72	...
Arkansas	15	1	North Carolina	7½	14½
California	3	15	North Dakota	6	...
Colorado	...	8	Ohio	46	...
Connecticut	12	..	Oregon	8	...
Delaware	6	...	Pennsylvania	64	...
Florida	6	2	Rhode Island	8	...
Georgia	23	3	South Carolina	18	...
Idaho	...	6	South Dakota	6	2
Illinois	47	1	Tennessee	23	1
Indiana	30	...	Texas	30	...
Iowa	26	...	Utah	...	6
Kansas	16	4	Vermont	8	...
Kentucky	26	..	Virginia	19	5
Louisiana	16	...	Washington	8	...
Maine	12	...	West Virginia	12	...
Maryland	16	...	Wisconsin	24	...
Massachusetts	30	...	Wyoming	...	6
Michigan	27	1	Alaska	4	...
Minnesota	18	...	Arizona	...	6
Mississippi	18	...	District of Columbia	2	...
Missouri	33	1	Indian Territory	6	...
Montana	...	6	New Mexico	3	3
Nebraska	16	..	Oklahoma	5	1
Nevada	...	6			
New Hampshire	8	...	Totals	818½	105½
New Jersey	20	...			

So the substitute submitted by Mr. Teller was laid upon the table. Mr. Foraker then moved the previous question, on the adoption of the financial plank in the report of the committee. Senator Fred. T. Dubois of Idaho demanded a separate vote on the financial plank, which request was seconded by Delegate Mott of North Carolina and Senator Mantle of Montana. The roll was thereupon called, and the result announced, as follows, viz:

State.	Ayes.	Noes.	State.	Ayes.	Noes.
Alabama	19	3	New York	72	...
Arkansas	15	1	North Carolina	7½	14½
California	4	14	North Dakota	6	...
Colorado	...	8	Ohio	46	...
Connecticut	12	...	Oregon	8	...
Delaware	6	...	Pennsylvania	64	...
Florida	7	1	Rhode Island	8	...
Georgia	25	1	South Carolina	18	...
Idaho	...	6	South Dakota	7	1
Illinois	46	2	Tennessee	23	1
Indiana	30	...	Texas	30	...
Iowa	26	...	Utah	...	6
Kansas	15	5	Vermont	8	...
Kentucky	26	...	Virginia	17	7
Louisiana	16	...	Washington	8	...
Maine	12	...	West Virginia	12	...
Maryland	16	...	Wisconsin	24	...
Massachusetts	30	...	Wyoming	...	6
Michigan	25	3	Alaska	4	...
Minnesota	18	...	Arizona	...	6
Mississippi	18	...	District of Columbia	2	...
Missouri	33	*	Indian Territory	6	...
Montana	...	6	New Mexico	2	4
Nebraska	13	3	Oklahoma	...	6
Nevada	...	6			
New Hampshire	8	...	Totals	812½	110½
New Jersey	20	...			

* Absent.

So the financial plank of the platform as reported by the Committee on Resolutions was adopted.

The changes made from the votes cast on the preceding ballot (substitute submitted by Senator Teller) are as follows:

From negative to affirmative:—Alabama, four; California, one; Florida, one; Georgia, two; Illinois, one. From affirmative to negative:—Kansas, one; Michigan, two; Nebraska, three; South Dakota, one; Virginia, two, and Oklahoma, five. So the financial plank of the platform, as reported by the Committee on Resolutions, was adopted. The remainder of the report of the committee was then adopted without division. Following the announcement of the foregoing vote, Senator Teller was recognized and yielded the floor to Senator Frank J. Cannon of Utah, who read a statement in the nature of a protest against the action of the Committee on Resolutions in respect to the financial plank, as well as the action of the convention itself, which statement or protest was signed by Senators Henry M. Teller of Colorado, Fred. T. Dubois of Idaho, Frank J. Cannon of Utah, and R. F. Pettigrew of South Dakota, and Representative Charles A. Hartman of Montana, and Delegate A. C. Cleveland of Nevada. After the reading of said statement, the above-named delegates, with a few others, whose names were not announced, retired from the convention. Senators Lee Mantle of Montana, Arthur Brown of Utah, and other delegates from silver states who did not "bolt," then addressed the convention. The regular order being demanded, the chair announced the same to be a call of states and territories for the purpose of constituting the National Committee. The roll was thereupon called, and the committee constituted, with the exception of members from two states and one territory. At the conclusion of the call, General Grosvenor of Ohio submitted the following preamble and resolution, which were read and unanimously adopted, viz:

Whereas there are several vacancies on the National Committee as reported on the last call, which are not likely to be filled by state and other delegations: therefore,

Resolved, That the National Committee be, and it is hereby, empowered to fill all vacancies on said committee.

The chair then announced as the next business in order a call of the roll of states for the nomination of President. The secretary thereupon proceeded to call the roll, when nominations for President were made as follows:

William B. Allison of Iowa, by Mr. John N. Baldwin of that state.

Thomas B. Reed of Maine, by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts.

Levi P. Morton of New York, by Chauncey M. Depew of that state.

William McKinley of Ohio, by ex-Governor Joseph B. Foraker of that state.

Matthew S. Quay of Pennsylvania, by Governor D. H. Hastings of that state.

The foregoing nominations were seconded and speeches made in support of said candidates as follows, viz: The nomination of Mr. Reed, by Mr. Littlefield of Maine; the nomination of Governor McKinley, by Senator Thurston of Nebraska (Col. William P. Hepburn of Iowa occupying the chair) and James Madison Vance of Louisiana.

At four o'clock and thirty-five minutes p. m., the call of the roll of states was commenced, and resulted as follows:

States.	Total.	McKinley.	Reed.	Morton.	Allison.	Quay.
Alabama	22	19	2	1		
Arkansas	16	16				
California	18	18				
* Colorado	8					
Connecticut	12	7	5			
Delaware	6	6				
Florida	8	6		2		
Georgia	26	22	2			2
Indiana	30	30				
* Idaho	6					
Illinois	48	46	2			
Iowa	26				26	
Kansas	20	20				
Kentucky	26	26				
Louisiana	16	11	4		½	½
Maine	12		12			
Maryland	16	15	1			
Massachusetts	30	1	29			
Michigan	28	28				
Minnesota	18	18				
Mississippi	18	17	1			
Missouri	34	34				
† Montana	6					
Nebraska	16	16				
Nevada	6	3				
New Hampshire	8		8			
New Jersey	20	19	1			
New York	72	17		55		
North Carolina	22	19½	2½			
North Dakota	6	6				
Ohio	46	46				
Oregon	8	8				
Pennsylvania	64	6				58
Rhode Island	8		8			
South Carolina	18	18				
South Dakota	8	8				
Tennessee	24	24				
Texas	30	21	5		3	
Utah	6	3			3	
Vermont	8	8				
Virginia	24	23	1			
Washington	8	8				
West Virginia	12	12				
Wisconsin	24	24				
Wyoming	6	6				
Arizona	6	6				
Oklahoma	6	4	1		1	
Indian Territory	6	6				
District of Columbia	2		1		1	
Alaska	4	4				
New Mexico	6	5			1	
Total	922	661½	84½	58	35½	60½

* Not voting. Delegation withdrew.

† Montana gave J. Donald Cameron 1 vote for President; cast by Senator Thomas H. Carter.

The result of this roll-call was then announced by the chairman,

who stated to the convention that application had been made for recognition by the representatives of all the other candidates voted for, to make a certain motion. The chair then stated that he believed it would be the fairest thing to recognize the representative of each candidate in the order of the candidate according to the votes cast for each, and accordingly recognized Senator Lodge on behalf of Mr. Reed, Governor Hastings on behalf of Mr. Quay, Mr. Depew on behalf of Governor Morton, and Representative David B. Henderson of Iowa on behalf of Mr. Allison, respectively, who, after remarks by each, severally moved that the nomination of William McKinley for President be made unanimous. The chairman thereupon stated the question to be, Shall the nomination of William McKinley for President be made unanimous? And the question being put, the same was adopted by a unanimous vote. The chair thereupon made the following statement:

Gentlemen of the Convention: By authority of your unanimous vote, as chairman of this convention, I declare that William McKinley of the State of Ohio is the nominee of the Republican party for President of the United States.

Senator Lodge then moved that the convention proceed to nominate a candidate for Vice-President, and that nominating speeches be limited to five minutes each. The motion was seconded by Governor Hastings of Pennsylvania, submitted to the convention, and adopted. The chairman thereupon directed the secretary to call the roll of states for nominations. The following names of candidates for the office of Vice-President were thereupon presented, as follows:

Mr. William G. Bulkeley of Connecticut, by Samuel Fessenden of that state.

Garrett A. Hobart of New Jersey, by J. Franklin Fort of that state.

Charles Warren Lippett of Rhode Island, by W. K. Allen of that state.

Henry Clay Evans of Tennessee, by Mr. W. M. Randolph of that state.

James A. Walker of Virginia, by Colonel Bailey of that state.

Seconding speeches were then made as follows, viz:

By J. Otis Humphrey of Illinois for Mr. Hobart.

By John P. Smith of Kentucky and Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin for Mr. Evans.

The roll of states and territories was then called for the choice of a candidate for Vice-President, and resulted as follows, viz:

States.	Hobart.	Evans.	Bulkeley.	Walker.	Lippett.	Reed.	Thurston.	Fred. Grant.	Brown.	Morton.	Depew.
Alabama	10	11	1								
Arkansas	10	5	1								
California	14	3	1								
Colorado											
Connecticut			12								
Delaware	6										
Florida	5	3									
Georgia	5	21									
Indiana	12	16				1	1				
Idaho											
Illinois	44	4									
Iowa	8	5	10			1		2			
Kansas	20										
Kentucky	8	17									1
Louisiana	8	8									
Maine		5	2						2	1	
Maryland	14	1	1								
Massachusetts	14	12	4								
Michigan	21	7									
Minnesota	6	12									
Mississippi	13	5									
Missouri	10	23					1				
Montana	1										
Nebraska	16										
Nevada	3										
New Hampshire	8										
New Jersey	20										
New York	72										
North Carolina	1½	20½									
North Dakota	3	3									
Ohio	25	15	6								
Oregon	8										
Pennsylvania	64										
Rhode Island					8						
South Carolina	3	15									
South Dakota	8										
Tennessee		24									
Texas	11	12									
Utah	5	1									
Vermont	8										
Virginia				24							
Washington	8										
West Virginia	12										
Wisconsin	3	20				1					
Wyoming	6										
Alaska	4										
Arizona	4	1									
District of Columbia	2										
Indian Territory	6										
New Mexico		6									
Oklahoma	4	2									
Total	533½	280½	39	24	8	3	2	2	2	1	1

Note.—Colorado and Idaho delegations absent.
Total number of votes cast, 896.
Necessary to a choice, 449.

The chair put the question required by the rule, and the nomination of Mr. Hobart was made unanimous.

The roll of states and territories was then called under the rule, for the selection of members of the committees to severally notify Governor McKinley and Mr. Hobart of their nomination. Governor Bushnell of Ohio then submitted a resolution, which was adopted, appointing Senator Thurston, permanent chairman of the convention, chairman of the committee chosen to notify William McKinley of his nomination for President, and temporary chairman Fairbanks, the chairman of the committee chosen to notify Garret A. Hobart of his nomination for Vice-President. Resolutions thanking the officers, secretaries, etc., of the convention for the able and faithful manner in which they had performed their respective duties, and the citizens of St. Louis for the fulfillment of every promise made relating to the convention, were submitted and adopted, and the convention, at 7.53 p. m., adjourned *sine die*.

The Seventeenth Democratic National Convention met at Chicago, Illinois, on July 7, and on July 10 nominated William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska for President, and on July 11 nominated Arthur Sewall of Maine for Vice-President. One hundred and sixty-two delegates refused to vote on the final (fifth) ballot for a nominee for President, that number refusing to vote on any preceding ballot.

The National Convention of the Silver party met in St. Louis on July 22, and on July 24 nominated Messrs. Bryan and Sewall for President and Vice-President respectively, defeating a proposition to endorse their nominations as made by the Democratic convention.

The People's (Populist) party also met in convention at St. Louis on July 22, and on July 24 nominated Mr. Bryan for President, and Thomas E. Watson of Georgia for Vice-President, the latter being first nominated, a motion to nominate said candidate first, prevailing by yeas 738, nays 637.

The Prohibition party met in convention at Pittsburg on May 27, and nominated Joshua B. Levering of Maryland for President, and Hoie Johnson of Illinois for Vice-President. There was a bolt of free silver delegates by reason of the defeat of a free silver coinage 16 to 1 plank.

The National Democratic Convention, composed of eight hundred and ninety delegates from forty-one states, who repudiated the platform and nominees of the Democratic National Convention at Chicago, met in Indianapolis on September 2, 1896, and on the following day nominated Senator John M. Palmer of Illinois for President, and Simon B. Buckner of Kentucky for Vice-President.

NOTIFICATION OF GOVERNOR McKINLEY.

The Committee on Notification of the nominee for President met at the home of Governor McKinley, in Canton, Ohio, on June 29, 1896, where Senator John M. Thurston, of Nebraska, chairman of the committee, by appointment of the convention, addressed Governor McKinley as follows:

SENATOR THURSTON TO GOVERNOR McKINLEY.

GOVERNOR McKINLEY: We are here to perform the pleasant duty assigned us by the Republican National Convention, recently assembled in St. Louis,—that of formally notifying you of your nomination as the candidate of the Republican party for President of the United States.

We respectfully request your acceptance of this nomination and your approval of the declaration of principles adopted by the convention.

We assure you that you are the unanimous choice of a united party, and your candidacy will be immediately accepted by the country as an absolute guarantee of Republican success.

Your nomination has been made in obedience to a popular demand, whose universality and spontaneity attest the affection and confidence of the plain people of the United States. By common consent you are their champion. Their mighty uprising in your behalf emphasizes the sincerity of their conversion to the cardinal principles of protection and reciprocity as best exemplified in that splendid congressional act which justly bears your name. Under it this Nation advanced to the very culmination of a prosperity far surpassing that of all other peoples and all other times; a prosperity shared in by all sections, all interests, and all classes, by capital and labor; by producer and consumer; a prosperity so happily in harmony with the genius of popular government that its choicest blessings were most widely distributed among the lowliest toilers and the humblest homes.

In 1892, your countrymen, unmindful of your solemn warnings, returned that party to power which reiterated its everlasting opposition to a protective tariff and demanded the repeal of the McKinley act. They sowed the wind. They reaped the whirlwind. The sufferings and losses and disasters to the American people from four years of Democratic tariff are vastly greater than those which came to them from four years of civil war.

Out of it all one great good remains. Those who scorned your counsels speedily witnessed the fulfillment of your prophesies, and even as the scourged and repentant Israelites abjured their stupid idols and resumed unquestioning allegiance to Moses and to Moses' God, so now your countrymen, ashamed of their errors, turn to you and to those glorious principles for which you stand, in the full belief that your candidacy and the Republican platform mean that the end of the wilderness has come and the promised land of American Prosperity is again to them an assured inheritance.

But your nomination means more than the endorsement of a protective tariff, of reciprocity, of sound money, and of honest finance, for all of which you have so steadfastly stood. It means an endorsement of your heroic youth, your faithful years of arduous public service; your sterling patriotism, your stalwart Americanism; your Christian character, and the purity, fidelity, and simplicity of your private life. In all these things you are the typical American: for all these things you are the chosen leader of the people. God give you strength so to bear the honors and meet the duties of that great office for which you are now nominated and to which you will be elected, that your administration will enhance the dignity and power and glory of this Republic, and secure the safety, welfare and happiness of its liberty-loving people.

GOVERNOR McKINLEY'S REPLY.

Senator THURSTON, and Gentlemen of the Notification Committee of the Republican National Convention:

To be selected as their Presidential candidate by a great party convention, representing so vast a number of the people of the United States, is a most distinguished

honor, for which I would not conceal my high appreciation, although deeply sensible of the great responsibilities of the trust, and my inability to bear them without the generous and constant support of my fellow-countrymen. Great as is the honor conferred, equally arduous and important is the duty imposed, and in accepting the one I assume the other, relying upon the patriotic devotion of the people to the best interests of our beloved country, and the sustaining care and aid of Him, without whose support all we do is empty and vain. Should the people ratify the choice of the great convention for which you speak, my only aim will be to promote the public good, which in America is always the good of the greatest number, the honor of our country, and the welfare of the people.

The questions to be settled in the National contest this year are as serious and important as any of the great governmental problems that have confronted us in the past quarter of a century. They command our sober judgment, and a settlement free from partisan prejudice and passion, beneficial to ourselves and befitting the honor and grandeur of the Republic. They touch every interest of our common country. Our industrial supremacy, our productive capacity, our business and commercial prosperity, our labor and its rewards, our National credit and currency, our proud financial honor, and our splendid free citizenship—the birthright of every American—are all involved in the pending campaign, and thus every home in the land is directly and intimately connected with their proper settlement. Great are the issues involved in the coming election, and eager and earnest the people for their right determination. Our domestic trade must be won back, and our idle working people employed in gainful occupations at American wages. Our home market must be restored to its proud rank of first in the world, and our foreign trade, so precipitately cut off by adverse National legislation, reopened on fair and equitable terms for our surplus agricultural and manufacturing products. Protection and reciprocity, twin measures of a true American policy, should again command the earnest encouragement of the Government at Washington. Public confidence must be resumed, and the skill, the energy, and the capital of our country find ample employment at home, sustained, encouraged and defended against the unequal competition and serious disadvantages with which they are now contending.

The Government of the United States must raise enough money to meet both its current expenses and increasing needs. Its revenues should be so raised as to protect the material interests of our people, with the lightest possible drain upon their resources, and maintain that high standard of civilization which has distinguished our country for more than a century of its existence. The income of the Government, I repeat, should equal its necessary and proper expenditures. A failure to pursue this policy has compelled the Government to borrow money, in a time of peace, to sustain its credit and pay its daily expenses. This policy should be reversed, and that, too, as speedily as possible. It must be apparent to all, regardless of party ties or affiliations, that it is our paramount duty to provide adequate revenue for the expenditures of the Government, economically and prudently administered. This the Republican party has heretofore done, and this I confidently believe it will do in the future when the party is again entrusted with power in the executive and legislative branches of our Government. The National credit, which has thus far fortunately resisted every assault upon it, must and will be upheld and strengthened. If sufficient revenues are provided for the support of the Government, there will be no necessity for borrowing money and increasing the public debt. The complaint of the people is not against the Administration for borrowing money and issuing bonds to preserve the credit of the country, but against the ruinous policy which has made this necessary. It is but an incident, and a necessary one, to the policy which has been inaugurated. The inevitable effect of such a policy is seen in the deficiency of the United States treasury, except as it is replenished by loans, and in the distress of the people who are suffering because of the scant demand for either their labor or the products of their labor. Here is the fundamental trouble, the remedy for which is Republican opportunity and duty. During all the years of Republican control following resumption, there was a steady reduction of the public debt while the gold reserve was sacredly maintained, and our currency and credit preserved without depreciation, taint, or suspicion. If we would restore this policy that brought us unexampled prosperity for more than thirty years under the most trying condition ever known in this country, the policy by which we made and bought more goods at home and sold more abroad, the trade balance would be quickly turned in our favor, and gold would come to us and not go from us in the settlement of all such balances in the future.

The party that supplied by legislation the vast revenues for the conduct of our greatest war, that promptly restored the credit of the country at its close, that from its abundant revenues paid off a large share of the debt incurred in this war, and that resumed specie payments and placed our paper currency upon a sound and enduring basis, can be safely trusted to preserve both our credit and currency, with honor,

stability, and inviolability. The American people hold the financial honor of our Government as sacred as our flag, and can be relied upon to guard it with the same sleepless vigilance. They hold its preservation above party fealty, and have often demonstrated that party ties avail nothing when the spotless credit of our country is threatened. The money of the United States, and every kind or form of it, whether of paper, silver or gold, must be as good as the best in the world. It must not only be current at its full face value at home, but it must be counted at par in any and every commercial center of the globe. The sagacious and far-seeing policy of the great men who founded our Government, the teachings and acts of the wisest financiers at every stage in our history, the steadfast faith and splendid achievements of the great party to which we belong, and the genius and integrity of our people have always demanded this, and will ever maintain it. The dollar paid to the farmer, the wage earner, and the pensioner must continue forever equal in purchasing and debt-paying power to the dollar paid to any Government creditor.

The contest this year will not be waged upon lines of theory and speculation, but in the light of severe practical experience and new and dearly acquired knowledge. The great body of our citizens know what they want, and that they intend to have. They know for what the Republican party stands and what its return to power means to them. They realize that the Republican party believes that our work should be done at home and not abroad, and everywhere proclaim their devotion to the principles of a protective tariff, which, while supplying adequate revenues for the Government, will restore American production, and serve the best interests of American labor and development. Our appeal, therefore, is not to a false philosophy of vain theorists, but to the masses of the American people, the plain, practical people, whom Lincoln loved and trusted, and whom the Republican party has always faithfully striven to serve.

The platform adopted by the Republican National Convention has received my careful consideration and has my unqualified approval. It is a matter of gratification to me, as I am sure it must be to you and Republicans everywhere, and to all our people, that the expressions of its declaration of principles are so direct, clear, and emphatic. They are too plain and positive to leave any chance for doubt or question as to their purport and meaning. But you will not expect me to discuss its provisions at length, or in any detail, at this time. It will, however, be my duty and pleasure at some future day to make to you, and through you to the great party you represent, a more formal acceptance of the nomination tendered me.

No one could be more profoundly grateful than I for the manifestations of public confidence of which you have so eloquently spoken. It shall be my aim to attest this appreciation by an unsparing devotion to what I esteem the best interests of the people, and in this work I ask the counsel and support of you, gentlemen, and of every other friend of the country. The generous expressions with which you, sir, convey the official notice of my nomination are highly appreciated, and as fully reciprocated, and I thank you and your associates of the Notification Committee, and the great party and convention at whose instance you come, for the high and exceptional distinction bestowed upon me.

At the close of Governor McKinley's remarks, Mr. Henry H. Smith, of Michigan, Assistant Secretary of the St. Louis Convention, and secretary of the committee, presented to Governor McKinley, on behalf of the convention, a gavel presented to it by Mr. W. H. Bartels, of Carthage, Illinois, made from a log taken from the cabin occupied by Abraham Lincoln in 1832, at New Salem, Illinois, for the nominee of the convention for President.

At the conclusion of Mr. Smith's remarks, in which a brief history of the various historic gavels presented to the nominees of all the Republican national conventions was given, Governor McKinley responded briefly and appropriately.

NOTIFICATION OF MR. HOBART.

The Committee on Notification of the nominee for Vice-President, Hon. Garret A. Hobart, met at the home of Mr. Hobart in Paterson, New Jersey, on July 7, 1896, where Hon. Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, temporary chairman of the convention, and chairman of the committee, addressed Mr. Hobart as follows:

MR. FAIRBANKS TO MR. HOBART.

Mr. Hobart: The Republican National Convention, recently assembled at St. Louis, commissioned us to formally notify you of your nomination for the office of Vice-President of the United States. We are met, pursuant to the direction of the convention, to perform the agreeable duty assigned us.

In all the splendid history of the great party which holds our loyal allegiance the necessity was never more urgent for steadfast adherence to those wholesome principles which have been the sure foundation rock of our national prosperity. The demand was never greater for men who hold principle above all else, and who are unmoved either by the clamor of the hour or the promises of false teachers. The convention at St. Louis, in full measure, met the high demands of the times in its declaration of party principles and in the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President.

Sir, the office to which you are nominated is of rare dignity, honor, and power. It has been graced by the most eminent statesmen who have contributed to the upbuilding of the strength and glory of the Republic. Because of your exalted personal character and of your intelligent and patriotic devotion to the enduring principles of a protective tariff, which wisely discriminates in favor of American interests, and to a currency whose soundness and integrity none can challenge, and because of your conspicuous fitness for the exacting and important duties of the high office, the Republican National Convention, with a unanimity and enthusiasm rarely witnessed, chose you as our candidate for Vice-President of the United States.

We know it to be gratifying to you personally to be the associate of William McKinley in the pending contest. For you and your distinguished associate we bespeak the enthusiastic and intelligent support of all our countrymen, who desire that prosperity shall again rule throughout the Republic.

MR. HOBART'S RESPONSE.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: I beg to extend to you my grateful acknowledgments for the kind and flattering terms in which you convey the formal announcement of my nomination for Vice-President of the United States by the Republican National Convention at St. Louis. I am profoundly sensible of the honor which has been done me, and through me to the State in which all my life has been spent, in my selection as a candidate for this high office.

Concurring without reserve in all the declarations of principle and policy embodied in the St. Louis platform, I accept the nomination tendered me with a full appreciation of its responsibilities, and with an honest purpose, in the event that the people shall ratify the choice made by the National Convention, to discharge any duties which may devolve upon me with sole reference to the public good. Let me add that it will be my earnest effort in the coming campaign to contribute in every possible way to the success of the party which we represent, and which, as to the important issues of the time, stands for the best interests of the people.

Uncertainty or instability as to the money question involves most serious consequences to every interest and to every citizen of the country. The gravity of this question cannot be overestimated. There can be no financial security, no business stability, no real prosperity where the policy of the Government as to that question is at all a matter of doubt.

Gold is the one standard of value among all enlightened commercial nations. All financial transactions of whatever character, all business enterprises, all individual or corporate investments are adjusted to it. An honest dollar, worth one hundred cents everywhere, cannot be coined out of fifty-three cents' worth of silver, plus a legislative

fiat. Such a debasement of our currency would inevitably produce incalculable loss, appalling disaster and national dishonor.

It is a fundamental principle in coinage, recognized and followed by all the statesmen of America in the past and never yet safely departed from, that there can be only one basis upon which gold and silver may be concurrently coined as money, and that basis is equality; not in weight but in the commercial value of the metal contained in the respective coins. This commercial value is fixed by the markets of the world, with which the great interests of our country are necessarily connected by innumerable business ties, which cannot be severed or ignored. Great and self-reliant as our country is, it is great not alone within its own borders and upon its own resources, but because it also reaches out to the ends of the earth in all the manifold departments of business, exchange and commerce, and must maintain with honor its standing and credit among the nations of the earth.

My estimate of the value of a protective policy has been formed by a study of the object lessons of a great industrial state, extending over a period of thirty years. It is, that protection not only builds up important industries from small beginnings, but that those and all other industries flourish or languish in proportion as protection is maintained or withdrawn. I have seen it indisputably proved that the prosperity of the farmer, merchant, and all other classes of citizens goes hand in hand with that of the manufacturer and mechanic.

I am firmly persuaded that what we need most of all to remove the business paralysis that afflicts this country is the restoration of a policy which, while affording ample revenue to meet the expenses of the Government, will reopen American workshops on full time and full handed, with their operatives paid good wages in honest dollars. And this can only come under a tariff which will hold the interests of our own people paramount in our political and commercial systems.

The opposite policy, which discourages American enterprise, reduces American labor to idleness, diminishes the earnings of American workingmen, opens our markets to commodities from abroad which we should produce at home, while closing foreign markets against our products, and which, at the same time, steadily augments the public debt, increasing the public burdens, while diminishing the ability of the people to meet them, is a policy which must find its chief popularity elsewhere than among American citizens.

MAJOR McKINLEY'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

CANTON, OHIO, *August* 26, 1896.

HON. JOHN M. THURSTON, and others, Members of the Notification Committee of the Republican National Convention.

GENTLEMEN: In pursuance of the promise made to your Committee, when notified of my nomination as the Republican candidate for President, I beg to submit this formal acceptance of that high honor, and to consider in detail questions at issue in the pending campaign. Perhaps this might be considered unnecessary in view of my remarks on that occasion, and those I have made to delegations that have visited me since the St. Louis Convention, but in view of the momentous importance of the proper settlement of the issues presented on our future prosperity and standing as a Nation, and considering only the welfare and happiness of our people, I could not be content to omit again calling attention to the questions which in my opinion vitally affect our strength and position among the governments of the world, and our morality, integrity and patriotism as citizens of that Republic which for a century past has been the best hope of the world and the inspiration of mankind. We must not now prove false to our own high standards in government, nor unmindful of the noble example and wise precepts of the fathers, or of the confidence and trust which our conduct in the past has always inspired.

THE FREE COINAGE OF SILVER.

For the first time since 1868, if ever before, there is presented to the American people this year a clear and direct issue as to our monetary system, of vast importance in its effects, and upon the right settlement of which rest largely the financial honor and prosperity of the country. It is proposed by one wing of the Democratic Party, and its allies the People's and Silver Parties, to inaugurate the free and unlimited coinage of silver by independent action on part of the United States at a ratio of sixteen ounces of silver to one ounce of gold. The mere declaration of this purpose is a menace to our financial and industrial interests and has already created universal alarm. It involves great peril to the credit and business of the country, a peril so

grave that conservative men everywhere are breaking away from their old party associations and uniting with other patriotic citizens in emphatic protest against the platform of the Democratic National Convention as an assault upon the faith and honor of the Government and the welfare of the people. We have had few questions in the lifetime of the Republic more serious than the one which is thus presented.

NO BENEFIT TO LABOR.

The character of the money which shall measure our values and exchanges, and settle our balances with one another, and with the nations of the world, is of such primary importance, and so far-reaching in its consequences, as to call for the most painstaking investigation, and, in the end, a sober and unprejudiced judgment at the polls. We must not be misled by phrases, nor deluded by false theories. Free silver would not mean that silver dollars were to be freely had without cost or labor. It would mean the free use of the mints of the United States for the few who are owners of silver bullion, but would make silver coin no freer to the many who are engaged in other enterprises. It would not make labor easier, the hours of labor shorter, or the pay better. It would not make farming less laborious, or more profitable. It would not start a factory, or make a demand for an additional day's labor. It would create no new occupations. It would add nothing to the comfort of the masses, the capital of the people, or the wealth of the Nation. It seeks to introduce a new measure of value, but would add no value to the thing measured. It would not conserve values. On the contrary, it would derange all existing values. It would not restore business confidence, but its direct effect would be to destroy the little which yet remains.

WHAT IT MEANS.

The meaning of the coinage plank adopted at Chicago is that any one may take a quantity of silver bullion now worth fifty-three cents to the mints of the United States, have it coined at the expense of the Government, and receive for it a silver dollar which shall be legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private. The owner of the silver bullion would get the silver dollar. It would belong to him and to nobody else. Our people would get it only by their labor, the products of their land, or something of value. The bullion owner on the basis of present values would receive the silver dollar for fifty-three cents' worth of silver, and other people would be required to receive it as a full dollar in the payment of debts. The Government would get nothing from the transaction. It would bear the expense of coining the silver and the community would suffer loss by its use.

THE DOLLARS COMPARED.

We have coined since 1878 more than four hundred millions of silver dollars, which are maintained by the Government at parity with gold, and are a full legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private. How are the silver dollars now in use different from those which would be in use under free coinage? They are to be of the same weight and fineness; they are to bear the same stamp of the Government. Why would they not be of the same value? I answer: The silver dollars now in use were coined on account of the Government, and not for private account or gain, and the Government has solemnly agreed to keep them as good as the best dollars we have. The Government bought the silver bullion at its market value and coined it into silver dollars. Having exclusive control of the mintage, it only coins what it can hold at a parity with gold. The profit, representing the difference between the commercial value of the silver bullion and the face value of the silver dollar, goes to the Government for the benefit of the people. The Government bought the silver bullion contained in the silver dollar at very much less than its coinage value. It paid it out to its creditors, and put it in circulation among the people at its face value of one hundred cents, or a full dollar. It required the people to accept it as a legal tender, and is thus morally bound to maintain it at a parity with gold, which was then, as now, the recognized standard with us, and the most enlightened nations of the world. The Government having issued and circulated the silver dollar, it must in honor protect the holder from loss. This obligation it has so far sacredly kept. Not only is there a moral obligation, but there is a legal obligation, expressed in public statute, to maintain the parity.

THEY COULD NOT BE KEPT AT PAR.

These dollars, in the particulars I have named, are not the same as the dollars which would be issued under free coinage. They would be the same in form, but different in value. The Government would have no part in the transaction except to coin the silver bullion into dollars. It would share in no part of the profit. It would take upon itself no obligation. It would not put the dollars into circulation. It could only get them, as any citizen would get them, by giving something for them. It would deliver them to those who deposited the silver, and its connection with the

transaction there end. Such are the silver dollars which would be issued under free coinage of silver at a ratio of sixteen to one. Who would then maintain the parity? What would keep them at par with gold? There would be no obligation resting upon the Government to do it, and if there were, it would be powerless to do it. The simple truth is we would be driven to a silver basis—to silver monometallism. These dollars, therefore, would stand upon their real value. If the free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of sixteen ounces of silver to one ounce of gold would, as some of its advocates assert, make fifty-three cents in silver worth one hundred cents, and the silver dollar equal to the gold dollar, then we would have no cheaper money than now, and it would be no easier to get. But that such would be the result is against reason and is contradicted by experience in all times and in all lands. It means the debasement of our currency to the amount of the difference between the commercial and coin value of the silver dollar, which is ever changing, and the effect would be to reduce property values, entail untold financial loss, destroy confidence, impair the obligations of existing contracts, further impoverish the laborers and producers of the country, create a panic of unparalleled severity, and inflict upon trade and commerce a deadly blow. Against any such policy, I am unalterably opposed.

BIMETALLISM.

Bimetallism can not be secured by independent action on our part. It can not be obtained by opening our mints to the unlimited coinage of the silver of the world, at a ratio of sixteen ounces of silver to one ounce of gold, when the commercial ratio is more than thirty ounces of silver to one ounce of gold. Mexico and China have tried the experiment. Mexico has free coinage of silver and gold at a ratio slightly in excess of sixteen and a half ounces of silver to one ounce of gold, and while her mints are freely open to both metals at that ratio, not a single dollar in gold bullion is coined and circulated as money. Gold has been driven out of circulation in these countries and they are on a silver basis alone. Until international agreement is had, it is the plain duty of the United States to maintain the gold standard. It is the recognized and sole standard of the great commercial nations of the world, with which we trade more largely than any other. Eighty-four per cent. of our foreign trade for the fiscal year 1895 was with gold standard countries, and our trade with other countries was settled on a gold basis.

WE NOW HAVE MORE SILVER THAN GOLD.

Chiefly by means of legislation during and since 1878 there has been put in circulation more than $624.000,000 of silver, or its representative. This has been done in the honest effort to give to silver, if possible, the same bullion and coinage value, and encourage the concurrent use of both gold and silver as money. Prior to that time there had been less than nine millions of silver dollars coined in the entire history of the United States, a period of eighty-nine years. This legislation secures the largest use of silver consistent with financial safety and the pledge to maintain its parity with gold. We have to-day more silver than gold. This has been accomplished at times with grave peril to the public credit. The so-called Sherman law sought to use all the silver product of the United States for money at its market value. From 1890 to 1893 the Government purchased 4,500,000 ounces of silver a month, or 54,000,000 ounces a year. This was one-third of the product of the world and practically all of this country's product. It was believed by those who then and now favor free coinage that such use of silver would advance its bullion value to its coinage value, but this expectation was not realized. In a few months, notwithstanding the unprecedented market value for the silver produced in the United States, the price of silver went down very rapidly, reaching a lower point than ever before. Then, upon the recommendation of President CLEVELAND, both political parties united in the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law. We can not with safety engage in further experiments in this direction.

THE DOUBLE STANDARD.

On the 22d of August, 1891, in a public address, I said: "If we could have an international ratio, which all the leading nations of the world would adopt, and the true relation be fixed between the two metals, and all agree upon the quantity of silver which should constitute a dollar, then silver would be as free and unlimited in its privileges of coinage as gold is to-day. But that we have not been able to secure, and with the free and unlimited coinage of silver adopted in the United States, at the present ratio, we would be still further removed from any international agreement. We may never be able to secure it if we enter upon the isolated coinage of silver. The double standard implies equality at a ratio, and that equality can only be established by the concurrent law of nations. It was the concurrent law of nations that made the double standard; it will require the concurrent law of nations to reinstate and sustain it.

IT FAVORS THE USE OF SILVER MONEY.

The Republican Party has not been, and is not now, opposed to the use of silver money, as its record abundantly shows. It has done all that could be done for its increased use, with safety and honor, by the United States acting apart from other governments. There are those who think that it has already gone beyond the limit of financial prudence. Surely we can go no further, and we must not permit false lights to lure us across the danger line.

MORE THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRY.

We have much more silver in use than any country in the world except India or China—$500,000,000 more than Great Britain; $150,000,000 more than France; $400,000,000 more than Germany; $325,000,000 less than India, and $125,000,000 less than China. The Republican Party has declared in favor of an international agreement, and if elected President it will be my duty to employ all proper means to promote it. The free coinage of silver in this country would defer, if not defeat, international bimetallism, and until an international agreement can be had every interest requires us to maintain our present standard. Independent free coinage of silver at a ratio of sixteen ounces of silver to one ounce of gold would insure the speedy contraction of the volume of our currency. It would drive at least five hundred millions of gold dollars, which we now have, permanently from the trade of the country, and greatly decrease our per capita circulation. It is not proposed by the Republican Party to take from the circulating medium of the country any of the silver we now have. On the contrary it is proposed to keep all of the silver money now in circulation on a parity with gold by maintaining the pledge of the Government that all of it shall be equal to gold. This has been the unbroken policy of the Republican Party since 1878. It has inaugurated no new policy. It will keep in circulation and as good as gold all of the silver and paper money which are now included in the currency of the country. It will maintain their parity. It will preserve their equality in the future as it has always done in the past. It will not consent to put this country on a silver basis, which would inevitably follow independent free coinage at a ratio of sixteen to one. It will oppose the expulsion of gold from our circulation.

FARMERS AND LABORERS SUFFER MOST.

If there is any one thing which should be free from speculation and fluctation it is the money of a country. It ought never to be the subject of mere partisan contention. When we part with our labor, our products, or our property, we should receive in return money which is as stable and unchanging in value as the ingenuity of honest men can make it. Debasement of the currency means destruction of values. No one suffers so much from cheap money as the farmers and laborers They are the first who feel its bad effects and the last to recover from them. This has been the uniform experience of all countries, and here, as elsewhere, the poor, and not the rich, are always the greatest sufferers from every attempt to debase our money. It would fall with alarming severity upon investments already made; upon insurance companies and their policy-holders; upon savings banks and their depositors; upon building and loan associations and their members; upon the savings of thrift; upon pensioners and their families; and upon wage earners, and the purchasing power of their wages.

UNLIMITED IRREDEEMABLE PAPER MONEY.

The silver question is not the only issue affecting our money in the pending contest. Not content with urging the free coinage of silver, its strongest champions demand that our paper money shall be issued directly by the Government of the United States. This is the Chicago Democratic declaration. The St. Louis People's declaration is that "our National money shall be issued by the General Government only, without the intervention of banks of issue, be full legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private," and be distributed "direct to the people, and through lawful disbursements of the Government." Thus in addition to the free coinage of the world's silver we are asked to enter upon an era of unlimited irredeemable paper currency. The question which was fought out from 1865 to 1879 is thus to be reopened, with all its uncertainties, and cheap-money experiments of every conceivable form foisted upon us. This indicates a most startling reactionary policy, strangely at variance with every requirement of sound finance; but the declaration shows the spirit and purpose of those who by combined action are contending for the control of the Government. Not satisfied with the debasement of our com which would inevitably follow the free coinage of silver at sixteen to one, they would still further degrade our currency and threaten the public honor by the unlimited issue of an irredeemable paper currency. A graver menace to our financial standing and credit could hardly be conceived, and every patriotic citizen should be aroused to promptly meet and effectually defeat it.

IN THE HIGHEST DEGREE REPREHENSIBLE.

It is a cause for painful regret and solicitude that an effort is being made by those high in the counsels of the allied parties to divide the people of this country into classes and create distinctions among us, which, in fact, do not exist, and are repugnant to our form of government. These appeals to passion and prejudice are beneath the spirit and intelligence of a free people, and should be met with stern rebuke by those they are sought to influence, and I believe they will be. Every attempt to array class against class, "the classes against the masses," section against section, labor against capital, "the poor against the rich," or interest against interest in the United States, is in the highest degree reprehensible. It is opposed to the national instinct and interest and should be resisted by every citizen. We are not a nation of classes, but of sturdy, free, independent, and honorable people, despising the demagogue, and never capitulating to dishonor. This ever recurring effort endangers popular government and is a menace to our liberties. It is not a new campaign device or party appeal. It is as old as government among men, but was never more untimely and unfortunate than now. WASHINGTON warned us against it, and WEBSTER said in the Senate, in words which I feel are singularly appropriate at this time: "I admonish the people against the object of outcries like these. I admonish every industrious laborer of this country to be on his guard against such delusion. I tell him the attempt is to play off his passion against his interest, and to prevail on him, in the name of liberty, to destroy all the fruits of liberty."

PROTECTION OF SUPREME IMPORTANCE.

Another issue of supreme importance is that of Protection. The peril of free silver is a menace to be feared; we are already experiencing the effect of partial free trade. The one must be averted; the other corrected. The Republican Party is wedded to the doctrine of Protection, and was never more earnest in its support and advocacy than now. If argument were needed to strengthen its devotion to "the American system," or increase the hold of that system upon the party and people, it is found in the lesson and experience of the past three years. Men realize in their own daily lives what before was to many of them only report, history, or tradition. They have had a trial of both systems and know what each has done for them.

DEMANDED BY THE PUBLIC EXIGENCIES.

WASHINGTON, in his Farewell Address, September 17, 1796, a hundred years ago, said: "As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear." To facilitate the enforcement of the maxims which he announced he declared: "It is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient or unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the Government in making it; and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate."

Animated by like sentiments the people of the country must now face the conditions which beset them. "The public exigencies" demand prompt protective legislation which will avoid the accumulation of further debt by providing adequate revenues for the expenses of the Government. This is manifestly the requirement of duty. If elected President of the United States it will be my aim to vigorously promote this object, and give that ample encouragement to the occupations of the American people, which, above all else, is so imperatively demanded at this juncture of our National affairs.

OUR CONDITION IN DECEMBER, 1892.

In December, 1892, President HARRISON sent his last message to Congress. It was an able and exhaustive review of the condition and resources of the country. It stated our situation so accurately that I am sure it will not be amiss to recite his official and valuable testimony. "There never has been a time in our history," said he, "when work was so abundant, or when wages were so high, whether measured by the currency in which they are paid, or by their power to supply the necessaries and comforts of life. The general average of prices has been such as to give to agriculture a fair participation in the general prosperity. The new industrial plants established since October 6, 1890, and up to October 22, 1892, number 345, and the extensions of existing plants, 108. The new capital invested amounts to $40,446,060, and the num-

ber of additional employés, 37,285. During the first six months of the present calendar year, 135 new factories were built, of which forty were cotton mills, forty-eight knitting mills, twenty-six woolen mills, fifteen silk mills, four plush mills, and two linen mills. Of the forty cotton mills, twenty-one have been built in the Southern States." This fairly describes the happy condition of the country in December, 1892. What has it been since, and what is it now?

OUR CONDITION EIGHT MONTHS LATER.

The messages of President CLEVELAND from the beginning of his second administration to the present time abound with descriptions of the deplorable industrial and financial situation of the country. While no resort to history or official statement is required to advise us of the present condition, and that which has prevailed during the past three years, I venture to quote from President CLEVELAND'S first message, August 8, 1893, addressed to the Fifty-third Congress, which he had called together in extraordinary session. "The existence of an alarming and extraordinary business situation," said he, "involving the welfare and prosperity of all our people, has constrained me to call together in extra session the people's representatives in Congress, to the end that through the wise and patriotic exercise of the legislative duties with which they solely are charged, the present evils may be mitigated and dangers threatening the future may be averted. Our unfortunate financial plight is not the result of untoward events, nor of conditions related to our natural resources. Nor is it traceable to any of the afflictions which frequently check National growth and prosperity. With plenteous crops, with abundant promise of remunerative production and manufacture, with unusual invitation to safe investment, and with satisfactory assurances to business enterprises, suddenly financial distrust and fear have sprung up on every side. Numerous monied institutions have suspended, because abundant assets were not immediately available to meet the demands of frightened depositors. Surviving corporations and individuals are content to keep in hand the money they are usually anxious to loan, and those engaged in legitimate business are surprised to find that the securities they offer for loans, though heretofore satisfactory, are no longer accepted. Values supposed to be fixed are fast becoming conjectural and loss and failure have invaded every branch of business."

THE CAUSE OF THE CHANGE.

What a startling and sudden change within the short period of eight months, from December, 1892, to August, 1893! What had occurred! A change of administration; all branches of the Government had been entrusted to the Democratic Party, which was committed against the protective policy that had prevailed uninterruptedly for more than thirty-two years and brought unexampled prosperity to the country, and firmly pledged to its complete overthrow and the substitution of a tariff for revenue only. The change having been decreed by the elections in November, its effects were at once anticipated and felt. We can not close our eyes to these altered conditions, nor would it be wise to exclude from contemplation and investigation the causes which produced them. They are facts which we can not as a people disregard, and we can only hope to improve our present condition by a study of their causes. In December, 1892, we had the same currency and practically the same volume of currency that we have now. It aggregated in 1892, $2,372,599,501; in 1893, $2,323,000,000; in 1894, $2,323,442,362; and in December, 1895, $2,194,000,230. The per capita of money, too, has been practically the same during this whole period. The quality of the money has been identical—all kept equal to gold. There is nothing connected with our money, therefore, to account for this sudden and aggravated industrial change. Whatever is to be deprecated in our financial system, it must everywhere be admitted that our money has been absolutely good and has brought neither loss nor inconvenience to its holders. A depreciated currency has not existed to further vex the troubled business situation.

GOOD MONEY NEVER MADE TIMES HARD.

It is a mere pretence to attribute the hard times to the fact that all our currency is on a gold basis. Good money never made times hard. Those who assert that our present industrial and financial depression is the result of the gold standard, have not read American history aright, or been careful students of the events of recent years. We never had greater prosperity in this country, in every field of employment and industry, than in the busy years from 1880 to 1892, during all of which time this country was on a gold basis and employed more gold money in its fiscal and business operations than ever before. We had, too, a protective tariff under which ample revenues were collected for the Government and an accumulating surplus which was constantly applied to the payment of the public debt. Let us hold fast to that which we know is good. It is not more money we want; what we want is to put the money we already have at work. When money is employed, men are employed. Both have

always been steadily and remuneratively engaged during all the years of protective tariff legislation. When those who have money lack confidence in the stability of values and investments, they will not part with their money. Business is stagnated—the life-blood of trade is checked and congested. We can not restore public confidence by an act which would revolutionize all values, or an act which entails a deficiency in the public revenues. We can not inspire confidence by advocating repudiation or practicing dishonesty. We can not restore confidence either to the Treasury or to the people without a change in our present tariff legislation.

THE TARIFF OF 1894.

The only measure of a general nature that affected the Treasury and the employments of our people passed by the Fifty-third Congress was the general Tariff Act, which did not receive the approval of the President. Whatever virtues may be claimed for that Act, there is confessedly one which it does not possess. It lacks the essential virtue of its creation—the raising of revenue sufficient to supply the needs of the Government. It has no time provided enough revenue for such needs, but it has caused a constant deficiency in the Treasury and a steady depletion in the earnings of labor and land. It has contributed to swell our National debt more than $262,000,000, a sum nearly as great as the debt of the Government from Washington to Lincoln, including all our foreign wars from the Revolution to the Rebellion. Since its passage, work at home has been diminished; prices of agricultural products have fallen; confidence has been arrested, and general business demoralization is seen on every hand.

THE TARIFFS OF 1890 AND 1894 CONTRASTED.

The total receipts under the Tariff Act of 1894 for the first twenty-two months of its enforcement, from September, 1894, to June, 1896, were $557,615,328, and the expenditures $640,418,363, or a deficiency of $82,803,035. The decrease in our exports of American products and manufactures during the first fifteen months of the present tariff, as contrasted with the exports of the first fifteen months of the tariff of 1890, was $220,353,320 The excess of exports over imports during the first fifteen months of the tariff of 1890 was $213,972,968, but only $56,758,623 under the first fifteen months of the tariff of 1894, a loss under the latter of $157,214,345. The net loss in the trade balance of the United States has been $196,983,607 during the first fifteen months' operation of the tariff of 1894, as compared with the first fifteen months of the tariff of 1890. The loss has been large, constant and steady, at the rate of $13,130,000 per month, or $500,000 for every business day of the year.

LOSING IN BOTH DIRECTIONS.

We have either been sending too much money out of the country, or getting too little in, or both. We have lost steadily in both directions. Our foreign trade has been diminished and our domestic trade has suffered incalculable loss. Does not this suggest the cause of our present depression, and indicate its remedy? Confidence in home enterprises has almost wholly disappeared. Our shops are closed, or running on half time at reduced wages and small profit, if not actual loss. Our men at home are idle and while they are idle men abroad are occupied in supplying us with goods. Our unrivaled home market for the farmer has also greatly suffered because those who constitute it—the great army of American wage earners—are without the work and wages they formerly had. If they can not earn wages they can not buy products. They can not earn if they have no employment, and when they do not earn the farmer's home market is lessened and impaired, and the loss is felt by both producer and consumer. The loss of earning power alone in this country in the past three years is sufficient to have produced our unfortunate business situation. If our labor was well employed, and employed at as remunerative wages as in 1892, in a few months every farmer in the land would feel the glad change in the increased demand for his products and in the better prices which he would receive.

NOT OPEN MINTS BUT OPEN MILLS.

It is not an increase in the volume of money which is the need of the time, but an increase in the volume of business. Not an increase of coin, but an increase of confidence. Not more coinage, but a more active use of the money coined. Not open mints for the unlimited coinage of the silver of the world, but open mills for the full and unrestricted labor of American workingmen. The employment of our mints for the coinage of the silver of the world would not bring the necessaries and comforts of life back to our people. This will only come with the employment of the masses and such employment is certain to follow the re-establishment of a wise protective policy which shall encourage manufacturing at home. Protection has lost none of its virtue and importance. The first duty of the Republican Party, if restored to power in the country, will be the enactment of a tariff law which will raise all the money necessary

to conduct the Government, economically and honestly administered, and so adjusted as to give preference to home manufactures and adequate protection to home labor and the home market. We are not committed to any special schedules or rates of duty. They are and should be always subject to change to meet new conditions, but the principle upon which rates of duty are imposed remains the same. Our duties should always be high enough to measure the difference between the wages paid labor at home and in competing countries, and to adequately protect American investments and American enterprises.

OUR FARMERS AND THE TARIFF.

Our farmers have been hurt by the changes in our tariff legislation as severely as our laborers and manufacturers, badly as they have suffered. The Republican platform wisely declares in favor of such encouragement to our sugar interests "as will lead to the production on American soil of all the sugar which the American people use." It promises to our wool and woolen interests "the most ample protection," a guaranty that ought to commend itself to every patriotic citizen. Never was a more grievous wrong done the farmers of our country than that so unjustly inflicted during the past three years upon the wool-growers of America. Although among our most industrious and useful citizens their interests have been practically destroyed and our woolen manufactures involved in similar disaster. At no time within the past thirty-six years, and perhaps never during any previous period, have so many of our woolen factories been suspended as now. The Republican Party can be relied upon to correct these great wrongs, if again entrusted with the control of Congress.

RECIPROCITY.

Another declaration of the Republican platform that has my most cordial support, is that which favors reciprocity. The splendid results of the reciprocity arrangements that were made under authority of the tariff law of 1890 are striking and suggestive. The brief period they were in force, in most cases only three years, was not long enough to thoroughly test their great value, but sufficient was shown by the trial to conclusively demonstrate the importance and the wisdom of their adoption. In 1892, the export trade of the United States attained the highest point in our history. The aggregate of our exports that year reached the immense sum of $1,030,278,148, a sum greater by $100,000,000 than the exports of any previous year. In 1893, owing to the threat of unfriendly tariff legislation, the total dropped to $847,665,194. Our exports of domestic merchandise decreased $189,000,000, but reciprocity still secured us a large trade in Central and South America, and a larger trade with the West Indies than we had ever before enjoyed. The increase of trade with the countries with which we had reciprocity agreements was $3,560,515 over our trade in 1892, and $16,440,721 over our trade in 1891. The only countries with which the United States traded that showed increased exports in 1893 were practically those with which we had reciprocity arrangements. The reciprocity treaty between this country and Spain, touching the markets of Cuba and Puerto Rico, was announced September 1, 1891. The growth of our trade with Cuba was phenomenal. In 1891 we sold that country but 114,441 barrels of flour; in 1892, 366,175; in 1893, 616,406; and in 1894, 662,248. Here was a growth of nearly five hundred per cent., while our exportations of flour to Cuba for the year ending June 30, 1895,—the year following the repeal of the reciprocity treaty—fell to 379,856 barrels, a loss of nearly half our trade with that country. The value of our total exports of merchandise from the United States to Cuba in 1891,—the year prior to the negotiation of the reciprocity treaty—was $12,224,888; in 1892, $17,953,579; in 1893, $24,157,698; in 1894, $20,125,321; but in 1895, after the annulment of the reciprocity agreement, it fell to only $12,887,661. Many similar examples might be given of our increased trade under reciprocity with other countries, but enough has been shown of the efficacy of the legislation of 1890 to justify the speedy restoration of its reciprocity provisions. In my judgment, Congress should immediately restore the reciprocity sections of the old law, with such amendments, if any, as time and experience sanction as wise and proper. The underlying principle of this legislation must, however, be strictly observed. It is to afford new markets for our surplus agricultural and manufactured products, without loss to the American laborer of a single day's work that he might otherwise procure.

FOREIGN IMMIGRATION.

The declaration of the platform touching Foreign Immigration is one of peculiar importance at this time, when our own laboring people are in such great distress. I am in hearty sympathy with the present legislation restricting foreign immigration, and favor such extension of the laws as will secure the United States from invasion by the debased and criminal classes of the Old World. While we adhere to the public policy under which our country has received great bodies of honest, industrious citizens, who have added to the wealth, progress, and power of the country, and while

we welcome to our shores the well-disposed and industrious immigrant who contributes by his energy and intelligence to the cause of free government, we want no immigrants who do not seek our shores to become citizens. We should permit none to participate in the advantages of our civilization who do not sympathize with our aims and form of government. We should receive none who come to make war upon our institutions and profit by public disquiet and turmoil. Against all such our gates must be tightly closed.

OUR SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

The soldiers and sailors of the Union should neither be neglected nor forgotten. The Government which they served so well must not make their lives or condition harder by treating them as suppliants for relief in old age or distress, nor regard with disdain or contempt the earnest interest one comrade naturally manifests in the welfare of another. Doubtless there have been pension abuses and frauds in the numerous claims allowed by the Government, but the policy governing the administration of the Pension Bureau must always be fair and liberal. No deserving applicant should ever suffer because of a wrong perpetrated by or for another. Our soldiers and sailors gave the Government the best they had. They freely offered health, strength, limb, and life to save the country in the time of its greatest peril, and the Government must honor them in their need as in their service with the respect and gratitude due to brave, noble, and self-sacrificing men who are justly entitled to generous aid in their increasing necessities.

OUR MERCHANT MARINE AND NAVY.

The declaration of the Republican platform in favor of the upbuilding of our Merchant Marine has my hearty approval. The policy of discriminating duties in favor of our shipping which prevailed in the early years of our history should be again promptly adopted by Congress and vigorously supported until our prestige and supremacy on the seas is fully attained. We should no longer contribute directly or indirectly to the maintenance of the colossal marine of foreign countries, but provide an efficient and complete marine of our own. Now that the American Navy is assuming a position commensurate with our importance as a Nation, a policy I am glad to observe the Republican platform strongly endorses, we must supplement it with a Merchant Marine that will give us the advantages in both our coastwise and foreign trade that we ought naturally and properly to enjoy. It should be at once a matter of public policy and National pride to repossess this immense and prosperous trade.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

The pledge of the Republican National Convention that our civil service laws "shall be sustained and thoroughly and honestly enforced, and extended wherever practicable," is in keeping with the position of the party for the past twenty-four years, and will be faithfully observed. Our opponents decry these reforms. They appear willing to abandon all the advantages gained, after so many years' agitation and effort. They encourage a return to methods of party favoritism which both parties have often denounced, that experience has condemned, and that the people have repeatedly disapproved. The Republican Party earnestly opposes this reactionary and entirely unjustifiable policy. It will take no backward step upon the question. It will seek to improve, but never degrade the public service.

IT DEMANDS ESPECIAL ATTENTION.

There are other important and timely declarations in the platform which I can not here discuss. I must content myself with saying that they have my approval. If, as Republicans, we have lately addressed our attention, with what may seem great stress and earnestness, to the new and unexpected assault upon the financial integrity of the Government, we have done it because the menace is so grave as to demand especial consideration, and because we are convinced that if the people are aroused to the true understanding and meaning of this silver and inflation movement they will avert the danger. In doing this we feel that we render the best service possible to the country, and we appeal to the intelligence, conscience and patriotism of the people, irrespective of party, or section, for their earnest support.

IT WILL MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER.

We avoid no issues. We meet the sudden, dangerous and revolutionary assault upon law and order, and upon those to whom is confided by the Constitution and laws the authority to uphold and maintain them, which our opponents have made, with the same courage that we have faced every emergency since our organization as a party, more than forty years ago. Government by law must first be assured; everything else can wait. The spirit of lawnessness must be extinguished by the fires of an unselfish and lofty patriotism. Every attack upon the public faith and every

suggestion of the repudiation of debts, public or private, must be rebuked by all men who believe that honesty is the best policy, or who love their country and would preserve unsullied its National honor.

SECTIONALISM ALMOST OBLITERATED.

The country is to be congratulated upon the almost total obliteration of the sectional lines which for so many years marked the division of the United States into slave and free territory, and finally threatened its partition into two separate governments by the dread ordeal of civil war. The era of reconciliation, so long and earnestly desired by General GRANT and many other great leaders, North and South, has happily come, and the feeling of distrust and hostility between the sections is everywhere vanishing, let us hope never to return. Nothing is better calculated to give strength to the Nation at home, increase our power and influence abroad, and add to the permanency and security of our free institutions, than the restoration of cordial relations between the people of all sections and parts of our beloved country. If called by the suffrages of the people to assume the duties of the high office of President of the United States, I shall count it a privilege to aid, even in the slightest degree, in the promotion of the spirit of fraternal regard which should animate and govern the citizens of every section, State, or part of the Republic. After the lapse of a century since its utterance, let us, at length, and forever hereafter, heed the admonition of WASHINGTON: "There should be no North, no South, no East, no West—but a common country." It shall be my constant aim to improve every opportunity to advance the cause of good government by promoting that spirit of forbearance and justice which is so essential to our prosperity and happiness by joining most heartily in all proper efforts to restore the relations of brotherly respect and affection which in our early history characterized all the people of all the States. I would be glad to contribute towards binding in indivisible union the different divisions of the country, which, indeed, now "have every inducement of sympathy and interest" to weld them together more strongly than ever. I would rejoice to see demonstrated to the world, that the North and the South and the East and the West are not separated, or in danger of becoming separated, because of sectional or party differences. The war is long since over; "we are not enemies, but friends," and as friends we will faithfully and cordially co-operate, under the approving smile of Him who has thus far so signally sustained and guided us, to preserve inviolate our country's name and honor, its peace and good order, and its continued ascendency among the greatest governments on earth.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM McKINLEY.

MR. HOBART'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

PATERSON, N. J., *Sept.* 9, 1896.

Hon. CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS, and others, of the Notification Committee of the Republican National Convention.

GENTLEMEN: I have already, in accepting the nomination for the office of the Vice-Presidency, tendered me by the National Republican Convention, expressed my approval of the platform adopted by that body as the party basis of doctrine. In accordance with accepted usage I beg now to supplement that brief statement of my views by some additional reflections upon the questions which are in debate before the American people.

The platform declarations in reference to the money question express clearly and unmistakably the attitude of the Republican Party as to this supremely important subject. We stand unqualifiedly for honesty in finance and the permanent adjustment of our monetary system, in the multifarious activities of trade and commerce, to the existing gold standard of value. We hold that every dollar of currency issued by the United States, whether of gold, silver or paper, must be worth a dollar in gold, whether in the pocket of the man who toils for his daily bread, in the vault of the savings-bank which holds his deposits, or in the exchanges of the world.

The money standard of a great nation should be as fixed and permanent as the nation itself. To secure and retain the best should be the desire of every right-minded citizen. Resting on stable foundations, continuous and unvarying certainty of value should be its distinguishing characteristic. The experience of all history confirms the truth that every coin, made under any law, howsoever that coin may be stamped, will finally command in the markets of the world the exact value of the materials which compose it. The dollar of our country, whether of gold or silver,

should be of the full value of one hundred cents, and by so much as any dollar is worth less than this in the market, by precisely that sum will some one be defrauded.

GOLD THE FINAL STANDARD.

The necessity of a certain and fixed money value between nations as well as individuals has grown out of the interchange of commodities, the trade and business relationships which have arisen among the peoples of the world, with the enlargement of human wants and the broadening of human interests. This necessity has made gold the final standard of all enlightened nations. Other metals, including silver, have a recognized commercial value, and silver especially has a value of great importance for subsidiary coinage. In view of a sedulous effort by the advocates of free coinage to create a contrary impression, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the Republican Party in its platform affirms this value in silver, and favors the largest possible use of this metal as actual money that can be maintained with safety. Not only this, it will not antagonize, but will gladly assist in promoting a double standard whenever it can be secured by agreement and co-operation among the nations. The bimetallic currency, involving the free use of silver, which we now have, is cordially approved by Republicans. But a standard and a currency are vastly different things.

If we are to continue to hold our place among the great commercial nations, we must cease juggling with this question and make our honesty of purpose clear to the world. No room should be left for misconception as to the meaning of the language used in the bonds of the Government not yet matured. It should not be possible for any party or individual to raise a question as to the purpose of the country to pay all its obligations in the best form of money recognized by the commercial world. Any nation which is worthy of credit or confidence can afford to say explicitly on a question so vital to every interest what it means, when such meaning is challenged or doubted. It is desirable that we should make it known at once and authoritatively that an "honest dollar" means any dollar equivalent to a gold dollar of the present standard of weight and fineness. The world should likewise be assured that the standard dollar of America is as inflexible a quantity as the French Napoleon, the British sovereign, or the German 20-mark piece.

CONSEQUENCES OF FREE-SILVER COINAGE.

The free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 is a policy which no nation has ever before proposed, and it is not to-day permitted in any mint in the world—not even in Mexico. It is purposed to make the coinage unlimited, at an absolutely fictitious ratio, fixed with no reference to intrinsic value or pledge of ultimate redemption. With silver at its present price of less than 70 cents per ounce in the market, such a policy means an immediate profit to the seller of silver, for which there is no return now or hereafter to the people or the Government. It means that for each dollar's worth of silver bullion delivered at the mint, practically $2 of stamped coin will be given in exchange. For $100 worth of bullion nearly two hundred silver dollars will be delivered.

Let it also be remembered that the consequences of such an act would probably be cumulative in their effects. The crop of silver, unlike that of hay, or wheat, or corn—which, being of yearly production, can be regulated by the law of demand and supply—is fixed once for all. The silver which has not yet been gathered is all in the ground. Dearth or other accident of the elements cannot augment or diminish it. Is it not more than probable that with the enormous premium offered for its mining the cupidity of man would make an over-supply continuous, with the necessary result of a steady depreciation as long as the silver dollar could be kept in circulation at all? Under the laws of finance, which are as fixed as those of any other science, the inevitable result would finally be a currency all and absolutely fiat. There is no difference in principle between the dollar half fiat and one all fiat. The latter, as the cheapest, under the logic of "cheap money," would surely drive the other out.

Any attempt on the part of the Government to create by its fiat money of a fictitious value would dishonor us in the eyes of other people and bring infinite reproach upon the National character. The business and financial consequences of such an immoral act would be worldwide, because our commercial relations are worldwide. All our settlements with other lands must be made, not with the money which may be current in our own country, but in gold, the standard of all nations with which our relations are most cordial and extensive, and no legislative enactment can free us from that inevitable necessity. It is a known fact that more than 80 per cent. of the commerce of the world is settled in gold on a gold basis.

DISCRIMINATING AGAINST PRODUCERS.

Such free-coinage legislation, if ever consummated, would discriminate against every producer of wheat, cotton, corn or rye—who should in justice be equally

entitled, with the silver-owner, to sell his products to the United States Treasury, at a profit fixed by the Government—and against all producers of iron, steel, zinc or copper, who might properly claim to have their metals made into current coin. It would, as well, be a fraud upon all persons forced to accept a currency thus stimulated and at the same time degraded.

In every aspect the proposed policy is partial and one-sided, because it is only when a profit can be made by a mine-owner or dealer that he takes his silver to the mint for coinage. The Government is always at the losing end. Stamp such fictitious value upon silver ore, and a dishonest and unjust discrimination will be made against every other form of industry. When silver bullion worth a little more than 50 cents is made into a legal-tender dollar, driving out one having a purchasing and debt-paying power of 100 cents, it will clearly be done at the expense and injury of every class of the community.

Those who contend for the free and unlimited coinage of silver may believe in all honesty that while the present ratio of silver to gold is as 30 to 1 (not 16 to 1), silver will rise above the existing market value. If it does so rise the effect will be to make the loss to all the people so much less, but such an opinion is but a hazardous conjecture at best, and is not justified by experience. Within the last twenty years this Government has bought about 460,000,000 of ounces of silver, from which it has coined approximately 430,000,000 of silver dollars and issued 130,000,000 of dollars in silver certificates, and the price of the metal has steadily declined from $1.15 per ounce to 68 cents per ounce. What will be the decline when the supply is augmented by the offerings of all the world? The loss upon these silver purchases to the people of this country has now been nearly $150,000,000.

The dollar of our fathers, about which so much is said, was an honest dollar, silver maintaining a full parity of intrinsic value with gold. The fathers would have spurned and ridiculed a proposition to make a silver dollar worth only 53 cents stand of equal value with a gold one worth 100 cents. The experience of all nations proves that any depreciation, however slight, of another standard from the parity with gold has driven the more valuable one out of circulation, and such experience in a matter of this kind is worth much more than mere interested speculative opinion. The fact that few gold coins are seen in ordinary circulation for domestic uses is no proof at all that the metal is not performing a most important function in business affairs. The foundation of the house is not always in sight, but the house would not stand an hour if there were no foundation. The great enginery that moves the ocean steamship is not always in view of the passenger, but it is, all the same, the propelling force of the vessel, without which it would soon become a worthless derelict.

A GREAT CALAMITY THREATENED.

It may be instructive to consider a moment how the free and unlimited coinage of silver would affect a few great interests, and I mention only enough to demonstrate what a calamity may lie before us if the platform formulated at Chicago is permitted to be carried out.

There are now on deposit in the savings banks of thirty-three States and Territories of this Union the vast sum of $2,000,000,000. These are the savings of almost 5,000,000 depositors. In many cases they represent the labor and economies of years. Any depreciation in the value of the dollar would defraud every man, woman, and child to whom these savings belong. Every dollar of their earnings when deposited was worth 100 cents in gold of the present standard of weight and fineness. Are they not entitled to receive in full, with interest, all they have so deposited? Any legislation that would reduce it by the value of a single dime would be an intolerable wrong to each depositor. Every bank or banker who has accepted the earnings of these millions of dollars to the credit of our citizens must be required to pay them back in money not one whit less valuable than that which these banks and bankers received in trust.

There are in this country nearly 6,000 building and loan associations, with shareholders to the number of 1,800,000 and with assets amounting to more than $500,000,000. Their average of holdings is nearly $300 per capita, and in many cases they represent the savings of men and women who have denied themselves the comforts of life in the hope of being able to accumulate enough to buy or build homes of their own. They have aided in the erection of over 1,000,000 houses, which are now affording comfort and shelter for 5,000,000 of our thrifty people.

CONFISCATION OF SAVINGS.

Free coinage at the arbitrary rate of sixteen ounces of silver to one of gold would be equivalent to the confiscation of nearly half the savings that these people have invested. It would be tantamount to a war upon American homemakers. It would be an invasion of "the homes of the provident," and tend directly to "destroy the

stimulus to endeavor and the compensation of honest toil." Every one of the shareholders of these associations is entitled to be repaid in money of the same value which he deposited by weekly payments or otherwise in these companies. No one of them should be made homeless because a political party demands a change in the money standard of our country as an experiment or as a concession to selfishness or greed.

The magnitude of the disaster which would overtake these and cognate interests becomes the more strikingly apparent when considered in the aggregate. Stated broadly, the savings banks, life insurance and assessment companies and building loan associations of the country hold in trust $15,309,717,381. The debasement of the currency to a silver basis, as proposed by the Chicago platform, would wipe out at one blow approximately $7,963,504,856 of this aggregate. According to the report of the Department of Agriculture, the total value of the main cereal crops in this country in 1894 was $995,438,107. So that the total sum belonging to the people and held in trust in these institutions which would be obliterated by the triumph of free and unlimited silver coinage, would be seven and one-half times the total value of the annual cereal crop of the United States. The total value of the manufactured products of the country for the census year of 1890 was $9,372,537,283. The establishment of a silver basis of value, as now proposed, would entail a loss to these three interests alone equal to 85 per cent. of this enormous output of all the manufacturing industries of the Union, and would affect directly nearly one-third of its whole population.

AN INSULT TO THE VETERANS.

One hundred and forty millions of dollars per annum are due to the pensioners of the late war. That sum represents blood spilled and sufferings endured in order to preserve this Nation from disintegration. In many cases the sums so paid in pensions are exceedingly small; in few, if any, are they excessive. The spirit that would deplete these to the extent of a farthing is the same that would organize sedition, destroy the peace and security of the country, punish rather than reward our veteran soldiers, and is unworthy of the countenance, by thought or vote, of any patriotic citizen of whatever political faith. No party, until that which met in convention at Chicago, has ever ventured to insult the honored survivors of our struggle for the National life by proposing to scale their pensions horizontally, and to pay them hereafter in depreciated dollars worth only 53 cents each.

The amounts due, in addition to the interests already named, to depositors and trust companies in National, State and private banks, to holders of fire and accident insurance policies, to holders of industrial insurance, where the money deposited or the premiums have been paid in gold or its equivalent, are so enormous, together with the sums due, and to become due, for State, municipal, county or other corporate debts, that if paid in depreciated silver or its equivalent, it would not only entail upon our fellow-countrymen a loss in money which has not been equalled in a similar experience since the world began, but it would, at the same time, bring a disgrace to our country such as has never befallen any other nation which had the ability to pay its honest debts. In our condition, and considering our magnificent capacity for raising revenue, such wholesale repudiation is without necessity or excuse. No political expediency or party exigency, however pressing, could justify so monstrous an act.

All these deposits and debts must, under the platform of the Republican party, be met and adjusted in the best currency the world knows, and measured by the same standard in which the debts have been contracted or the deposits or payments have been made.

Still dealing sparingly with figures, of which there is an enormous mass to sustain the position of the advocates of the gold standard of value, I cite one more fact, which is officially established, premised by the truism that there is no better test of the growth of the country's prosperity than its increase in the per capita holdings of its population. In the decade between 1880 and 1890, during which we had our existing gold standard, and were under the conditions that supervened from the act of 1873, the per capita ownings of this country increased from $870 to $1,036. In those ten years the aggregate increase of the wealth of our country was $21,395,000,000, being 50 per cent. in excess of the increase for any previous 10 years since 1850, and at the amazing rate of over $2,000,000,000 a year. The framers of the Chicago platform in the face of this fact, and of the enormous increase over Great Britain, during this same gold-standard decade, of our country's foreign trade and its production of iron, coal, and other great symbols of National strength and progress, assert that our monetary standard is "not only un-American, but anti-American," and that it has brought us "into financial servitude to London." It is impossible to imagine an assertion more reckless and indefensible.

THE ONLY LOGICAL CONCLUSION.

The proposition for free and unlimited silver coinage, carried to its logical conclusion—and but one is possible—means, as before intimated, legislative warrant for the

repudiation of all existing indebtedness, public and private, to the extent of nearly 50 per cent. of the face of all such indebtedness. It demands an unlimited volume of fiat currency, irredeemable, and therefore without any standard value in the markets of the world. Every consideration of public interest and public honor demands that this proposition should be rejected by the American people.

This country cannot afford to give its sanction to wholesale spoliation. It must hold fast to its integrity. It must still encourage thrift in all proper ways. It must not only educate its children to honor and respect the Flag, but it should inculcate fidelity to the obligations of personal and national honor as well. Both these great principles should hereafter be taught in the common schools of the land, and the lesson impressed upon those who are the voters of to-day and those who are to become the inheritors of sovereign power in the Republic, that it is neither wise, patriotic, nor safe to make political platforms the mediums of assault upon property, the peace of society and upon civilization itself.

PUTTING A PREMIUM ON DISHONESTY.

Until these lessons have been learned by our children, and by those who have reached the voting age, it can only be surmised what enlightened statesmen and political economists will record, as to the action of a party convention which offers an inducement to National dishonesty by a premium of 47 cents for every 53 cents' worth of silver that can be extracted from the bowels of the whole earth, with a cordial invitation to all to produce it at our mints and accept for it a full silver legal-tender dollar of one hundred cents rated value, to be coined free of charge and unlimited in quantity for private account.

But vastly more than a mere assertion of a purpose to reconstruct the National currency is suggested by the Chicago platform. It assumes, in fact, the form of a revolutionary propaganda. It embodies a menace of National disintegration and destruction. This spirit manifested itself in a deliberate proposition to repudiate the plighted public faith, to impair the sanctity of the obligation of private contracts, to cripple the credit of the Nation by stripping the Government of the power to borrow money as the urgent exigencies of the Treasury may require, and, in a word, to overthrow all the foundations of financial and industrial stability.

Nor is this all. Not content with a proposition to thus debauch the currency and to unsettle all conditions of trade and commerce, the party responsible for this platform denies the competency of the Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens against internal disorder and violence.

THE ASSAULT ON THE SUPREME COURT.

It assails the judicial muniments reared by the Constitution for the defence of individual rights and the public welfare, and it even threatens to destroy the integrity and independence of the Supreme Court, which has been considered the last refuge of the citizen against every form of outrage and injustice.

In the face of the serious peril which these propositions embody, it would seem that there could be but one sentiment among right-thinking citizens as to the duty of the hour. All men of whatever party, who believe in law, and have some regard for the sacredness of individual and institutional rights, must unite in defence of the endangered interests of the Nation.

While the financial issue which has been thus considered, and which has come, as the result of the agitation of recent years, to occupy a peculiar conspicuousness, is admittedly of primary importance, there is another question which must command careful and serious attention. Our financial and business condition is at this moment one of almost unprecedented depression. Our great industrial system is seriously paralyzed. Production in many important branches of manufacture has altogether ceased. Capital is without remunerative employment. Labor is idle. The revenues of the Government are insufficient to meet its ordinary and necessary expenses. These conditions are not the result of accident. They are the outcome of a mistaken economic policy deliberately enacted and applied. It would not be difficult, and would not involve any violent disturbance of our existing commercial system, to enact necessary tariff modifications along the lines of experience.

TARIFF POLICIES CONTRASTED.

For the first two fiscal years of the so-called McKinley Tariff, the receipts from customs were $380,807,980. At this writing the Wilson Tariff act has been in force for nearly two full fiscal years; but the total receipts, actual and estimated, cannot exceed $312,441,947. A steady deficit, constantly depleting the resources of the Government and trenching even upon its gold reserve, has brought about public distrust and business disaster. It has, too, necessitated the sale of $262,000,000 of bonds, thereby increasing to that extent the National debt. It will be remembered that in no year of the more than a quarter of a century of continuous Republican Administration suc-

ceeding the civil war, when our industries were disintegrated and all the conditions of business were more or less disturbed, was the National debt increased by a single dollar; it was, on the contrary, steadily and rapidly diminished. In such a condition of affairs as this, it is idle to argue against the necessity of some sort of a change in our fiscal laws. The Democratic Party declares for a remedy by direct taxation upon a selected class of citizens. It opposes any application of the protective principle.

Our party holds that by a wise adjustment of the tariff, conceived in moderation and with a view to stability, we may secure all needed revenue, and it declares that in the event of its restoration to power it will seek to accomplish that result. It holds, too, that it is the duty of the Government to protect and encourage in all practical ways the development of domestic industries, the elevation of home labor, and the enlargement of the prosperity of the people. It does not favor any form of legislation which would lodge in the Government the power to do what the people ought to do for themselves, but it believes that it is both wise and patriotic to discriminate in favor of our own material resources, and the utilization, under the best attainable conditions, of our own capital and our own available skill and industry.

The words of the Republican National platform on this subject are at once temperate and emphatic. It says of the policy of protection: "In its reasonable application it is just, fair, and impartial, equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, to sectional discrimination and individual favoritism. . . . We demand such an equitable tariff on foreign imports which come into competition with American products as will not only furnish adequate revenue for the necessary expenses of the Government, but will protect American labor from degradation to the wage level of other lands. We are not pledged to any particular schedules. The question of rates is a practical question, to be governed by the conditions of the time and of production; the ruling and uncompromising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industry. The country demands a right settlement, and then it wants rest."

THE TWIN CAMPAIGN ISSUES.

The Republican Party, in its first successful National contest, under Abraham Lincoln, declared in favor "of that policy of National exchanges which secures to the workingman living wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the Nation commercial prosperity and independence." The principle thus enunciated has never been abandoned. In the crisis now upon us it must be tenaciously adhered to. While we must insist that our monetary standard shall be maintained in harmony with that of the civilized world, that our currency shall be sound and honest, we must also remember that unless we make it possible for capital to find employment and for labor to earn ample and remunerative wages it will be impossible to attain that degree of prosperity which, with a sound monetary policy buttressed by a sound tariff policy, will be assured.

In 1892, when by universal consent we touched the high-water mark of our National prosperity, we were under the same financial system that we have to-day. Gold was then the sole standard, and silver and paper were freely used as the common currency. We had a tariff framed by Republican hands under the direction of the great statesman who now logically leads the contest for a restoration of the policy whose reversal brought paralysis to so many of our industries and distress upon so large a body of our people. We were under the policy of reciprocity, formulated by another illustrious statesman of the genuine American type. We may, if we choose to do so, return to the prosperous conditions which existed before the present Administration came into power.

FAITH IN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

My sincere conviction is that my countrymen will prove wise enough to understand the issues that confront them, and patriotic enough to apply safe and sure remedies for the evils that oppress us. They will not, I am sure, accept again at their face value the promises of a party, which, under desperate and perverted leadership, has so recently dishonored its solemn pledges, which has repudiated the principles and policies which have given it a historic past, and the success of which, as now constituted, would endanger at home private security and the public safety, and disastrously affect abroad both our credit and good name. And foremost among those who will decline to follow where the new Democracy leads will be thousands of men, Democrats aforetime and Democrats to-day, who count country more than party, and are unwilling even by indirection to contribute to results so disastrous to our most sacred interests.

The platform of the Republican National Convention states the party position concerning other questions than those herein referred to. These, while at the present time of subordinate importance, should not be overlooked. The Republican Party

has always been the defender of the rights of American citizenship, as against all aggressions whatever, whether at home or abroad. It has, to the extent of its power, defended those rights and hedged them about with law. Regarding the ballot as the expression and embodiment of the sovereignty of the individual citizen, it has sought to safeguard it against assault, and to preserve its purity and integrity. In our foreign relations it has labored to secure to every man entitled to the shelter of our flag the fullest exercise of his rights consistent with international obligation. If it should be restored to rulership, it would infuse needed vigor into our relations with Powers which have manifested contempt and disregard, not only of American citizenship, but of humanity itself.

THE HOME MUST BE PROTECTED.

The Republican Party has always stood for the protection of the American home. It has aimed to secure it in the enjoyment of all the blessings of remunerated industry, of moral culture, and of favorable physical environment. It was the party which instituted the policy of free homesteads, and which holds now that this policy should be re-established, and that the public lands yet vacant and subject to entry in any part of our National territory, should be preserved against corporate aggression as homes for the people. It realizes that the safety of the State lies in the multiplication of households, and the strengthening of that sentiment of which the virtuous home is the best and the truest embodiment; and it will aim to dignify and enlarge by all proper legislation this element of security.

If elected to the position for which I have been nominated, it will be my earnest and constant endeavor, under Divine guidance, in the sphere of duty assigned to me, to serve the people loyally along the line of the principles and policies of the party which has honored me with its preference.

I am, gentlemen of the committee, very truly yours,

GARRET A. HOBART.

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